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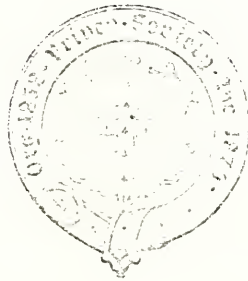
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JOHN CHECKLEY;

OR THE

Y. L. L.

EVOLUTION OF RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE
IN MASSACHUSETTS BAY.



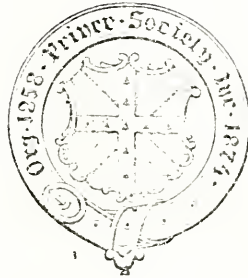
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1897.

Publications of the Prince Society.



JOHN CHECKLEY.

VOLUME I.

JOHN CHECKLEY;
OR THE
EVOLUTION OF RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE
IN
MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

INCLUDING

MR. CHECKLEY'S CONTROVERSIAL WRITINGS; HIS LETTERS AND OTHER PAPERS;
HIS PRESENTMENT ON THE CHARGE OF A LIBEL FOR PUBLISHING A BOOK;
HIS SPEECH AT HIS TRIAL; THE HON. JOHN READ'S PLEA IN ARREST
OF JUDGMENT; AND A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE GREAT CON-
TROVERSY ON EPISCOFACY BY THE MINISTERS OF
THE STANDING ORDER AND THE CLERGY
OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

1719-1774.

WITH HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS

AND A

MEMOIR

BY THE REV. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, D.D.

MEMBER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, THE ROYAL
HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ETC., ETC., ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

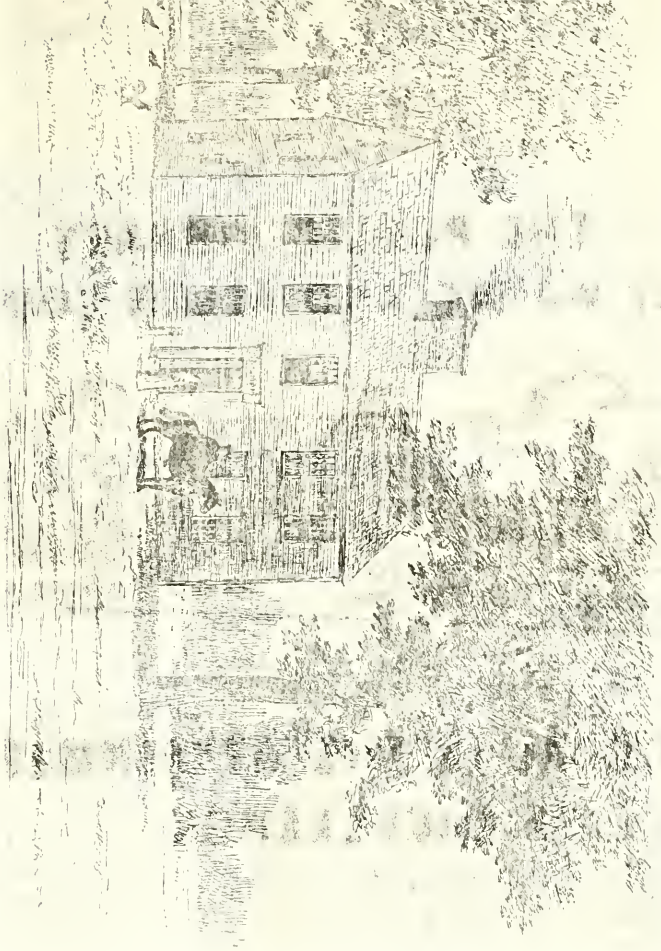
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OLD PARSONAGE OF KING'S CHURCH, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

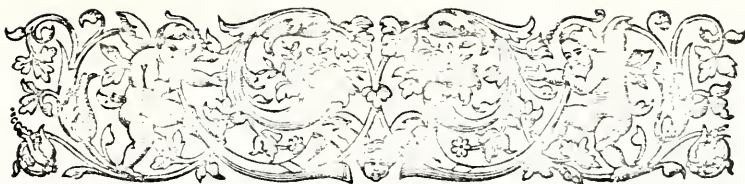
Designed by the Rev. John Chubbey from 1730 to 1754.



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PREFACE.



HE design of this monograph is to show the evolution of religious tolerance in Massachusetts Bay, especially in its relations to the Church of England as illustrated by the life and career of the Rev. John Checkley. Other religious bodies, not of the Standing Order, had passed through the experience of conflicts, of struggles, and of triumphs. From 1720 to 1742 Mr. Checkley was an active champion of the Church of England in Massachusetts Bay, the constant and untiring assertor of the rights of its members under the law. Before this time severe and even cruel measures had been employed to suppress those who differed from the Puritan Church. Whipping, mutilation, banishment, and death had been meted out to those who persisted in holding and proclaiming a discordant faith. But this method had wholly disappeared in 1720. That silent, unseen, mysterious power, which philosophers call evolution and Christians call a Divine providence,

had wrought a marvellous change. The most positive, ingrained Puritan of 1720 would doubtless have recoiled with dismay and indignation at the terrific physical punishments inflicted by the fathers for the crime of holding a differing faith.

But, nevertheless, evolution had not yet achieved a complete victory. Fines, imprisonment, and unjust taxation, taxation to build churches and to support a religion which they did not believe, were still inflicted with a rapacious hand. Against this intolerance, for more than twenty years, Mr. Checkley struggled on, nothing daunted by fines, penalties, and personal abuse, gaining one point after another, until at length he saw the consummation of his wishes in the enactment of a general law, which, for the first time since the planting of the colony, placed the members of the Church of England on an equal footing with the Standing Order. *Vide* Vol. II. p. 201, and note 71.

In collecting the material for this work, largely gathered out of original documents, I have received from scholars, students of history, officials and others, numerous courtesies for which I desire to place upon record my hearty appreciation.

I am under obligations to the Bishops of London, of Oxford, and of Ely, for searches obligingly made at my request for information in the records of their several dioceses.

My thanks are especially due to Mr. C. F. Pascoe of London, who is in charge of the manuscripts and books of the

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, for valuable information and extracts from the Society's records: to Mr. Lindsay Swift of Boston, who, in cataloguing the library of President John Adams, discovered the copies of letters in the handwriting of Mr. Checkley, which are printed in this work. Mr. Swift made a very exact and beautiful copy, for the use of which I am under special obligations. I am likewise under great obligations to Mr. Abner C. Goodell, Jr., of Salem, the learned editor of the *Province Laws*, by whose indispensable aid several intricate historical questions have been solved, particularly the official relations of the Hon. John Read at the trial of Mr. Checkley; to John Noble, Esquire, Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court, for access to the Suffolk Court Files, and extracts from the same.

I am also indebted for suggestions and courtesies to Justin Winfor, LL.D., of the Library of Harvard University, Samuel A. Green, LL.D., of the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Professor Franklin B. Dexter of the Library of Yale University, Mr. John Ward Dean of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, Mr. John Savary of the Library of Congress, Mr. William Kelby of the Library of the New York Historical Society, Mr. Albert C. Bates of the Library of the Connecticut Historical Society, Mr. C. B. Tillinghast of the State Library of Massachusetts, Mr. William P. Upham of Salem, Mr. J. O. Austin

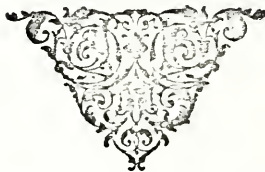
of Providence, R. I., the Rev. Carlos Slafter of Dedham, the Rev. C. A. L. Richards, D.D., Rector of St. John's Church, Providence, R. I., the Rev. Samuel H. Webb, Registrar of the Diocese of Rhode Island, and the Rev. N. E. Cornwall, Rector of Christ Church, Stratford, Connecticut.

The co-operation of the descendants of Mr. Checkley has rendered the genealogical section, the outline of the family history, fuller and more valuable than I had anticipated.

If the work now completed shall prove, in any degree, to be a contribution to the early history of New England, or render the task of the general historian less difficult, and his conclusions more accurate, the aim of the author will be fully realized.

E. F. S.

BOSTON, 249 BERKELEY STREET,
January 1, 1897.



I am pretty well assured, I have told them
no more than is due to your Character.
And if it should please God that Things so full
out, as that you should arrive here, and I should
be alive, you may depend upon as hearty a
Welcome as Dido gave to Æneas,
Enter my Rev^d Guest, and you shall find,
And a costly Welcome, yet a kind,
From *J^r Very humble Serv^t*

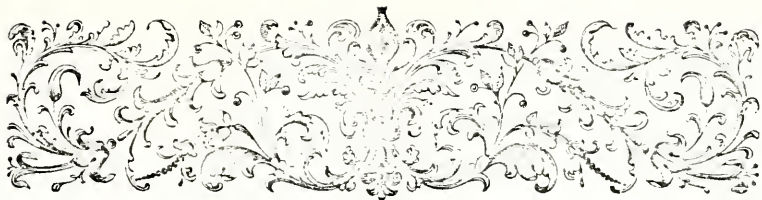
Boston, N. E.
Dec^r. 27. 1727

J^r Checkley

I sent a Copy of the above Letter by Cap Hill
who sails Decemb^r 31st on thereabouts; and another
by Curling, who sails January 6. 1727.

FAC-SIMILE OF MR. CHECKLEY'S HAND-WRITING.

The above is the closing sentence of a letter to the Rev. Mr. Black, of King's Chapel,
Westminster. — Vide vol. ii. 191-92.



MEMOIR.



HE career of the Rev. JOHN CHECKLEY stretched over a period, after he entered upon his manhood, of somewhat more than half a century. He was born in Boston, of English parentage, in the year 1680, and died in Providence, Rhode Island, where he had been Rector of King's Church, now St. John's, from 1739 to the day of his death, the 15th of February, 1754. He was an only son, and had an only sister, who died at the age of seventeen years. The rudiments of his education were obtained in the Boston Latin School, under the tuition of the renowned Ezekiel Cheever. He was subsequently sent to England, where he completed his education at the University of Oxford. We find no evidence, however, of his matriculation, and his studies were doubtless carried on under private instructors.

He afterward travelled extensively on the Continent, visiting most of the countries of Europe, where he collected many interesting objects of *virtu*, such as valuable paintings, rare books, and manuscripts.¹

At

¹ In the records of the town of Boston, both municipal and church, we find no entry which we can identify as referring to John Checkley in his childhood or early

At what age he was sent to England, and in what year he returned to Boston, cannot be clearly determined. His return, however, was somewhat anterior to his marriage, and was doubtless not far from 1710.

We may well suppose that his studies at Oxford began when he was not more than fifteen years of age, and, if he returned in 1710, he was abroad, mostly in England, not far from fifteen years. This period was filled up with constant and assiduous work. Endowed with an unusual gift in the acquisition of languages, he made himself in these years a ripe scholar in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.²

His intellectual powers were of a superior order. His opinions were deliberately formed, were clear and well-defined, and not often or easily changed. He was fond of argument, affluent in anecdote and learned allusions, and his conversations were rich and glowing with humor, here and there sparkling with coruscations of wit. He was consequently the centre of attraction in literary circles, although his sentiments were never moulded so
 much

early years. The facts above stated are obtained from the brief notice, occupying less than two pages, in the Rev. Dr. John Eliot's sketches of eminent men and literary characters, published in 1809, under the title of a "Biographical Dictionary." The material of this work, he informs us, he was "many years in collecting." He began his researches probably within forty years of Mr. Checkley's death. At that time some of his contemporaries were still living, and the sources of information were comparatively ample; more-

over, Dr. Eliot informs us that two of Mr. Checkley's grandchildren were then living. He doubtless was in correspondence with them. They could hardly fail to have some knowledge of their grandfather's history, and, moreover, may have had a family record. The facts stated by Dr. Eliot may be assumed as trustworthy, and substantially correct.

² Dr. Eliot says, while abroad "he procured a valuable Hebrew Bible, elegantly written on vellum." *Biographical Dictionary, in loco.*

much to please the hearer, as to express vigorously the convictions of his own mind.³

He is spoken of by writers in the early part of the present century as one of the wits of his time, as a very benevolent and good man, who added learning to a lively wit and a playful humor. His bon-mots, witticisms, and laughter-provoking stories were current for a whole generation after his time. There existed in Boston a coterie of humorists, of which Mr. Checkley was the central figure. Among them was Thomas Walter, a young man of brilliant promise, who died at the age of twenty-eight years, the equal of Checkley in caustic humor, and more than his equal in personal invective, who left behind him several publications of superior merit.⁴ John Read was another, a fine conversationist, and the profoundest lawyer of his time in Massachusetts Bay.⁵

A

³ Of his learning, Dr. Eliot says, "It rendered him a companion for learned and curious men, all of whom were fond of the company of John Checkley."

⁴ Thomas Walter was a son of the Rev. Nehemiah Walter, of Roxbury, and was settled as a colleague of his father. His mother was a sister of the renowned Dr. Cotton Mather. He published several sermons, and two controversial works mentioned in the sequel, *vide* pp. 34, 83; also a work on music, entitled the *Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*. *Vide* a eulogy on him by the Rev. Dr. Charles Chauncy, in *Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. X. pp. 155-6.

It is an interesting fact that the Rev. Thomas Walter's grandson was the Rev. William Walter, D.D., who was rector of Trinity Church, Boston, from 1764 to 1776, and, subsequently to the American Revolution, rector of Christ

Church, Boston. The grandfather's argument against Episcopacy did not seem to deter the grandson from taking orders in the Church of England.

⁵ John Read was born in 1690, and died February 14, 1749, N. S. He graduated at Harvard College in 1697; he entered the Congregational ministry, and officiated in several places, lastly at Stratford, Connecticut, from about 1703 to 1706. Here, with a considerable number of his parishioners, he decided that it was his duty to conform to the Church of England.

In 1707 nineteen gentlemen in Stratford petitioned the Venerable Society for a missionary for that place, as may be seen by reference to Hawks and Perry's Connecticut Church Documents, Vol. I. p. 34. Mr. Read was an impressive and eloquent preacher. He seriously contemplated entering into holy orders; but many obstacles intervened.

A third was Mather Byles, whose sparkling sayings have a touch of immortality, and are fresh in our memories today.⁶ And last, but not least, Joseph Green, distinguished not only for his wit and humor, but likewise for his extraordinary skill in readily casting any ludicrous incident into poetic measure.⁷

Among

vened, and he finally entered the law. He became eminent, was Queen's attorney for the Province of Connecticut for several years, and held other important offices and trusts in that province. He began to do law-business in Boston as early as 1720; but on December 12, 1722, he purchased an estate on Hanover Street, where the hotel known as the American House now stands, and came to Boston to reside. The next June after he took up his residence in Massachusetts Bay, he was elected Attorney-General, and to this office annually till 1727, inclusive. It is necessary here to state that for the year 1724 he did not act, as the formality of a nomination by the Governor had been neglected.

The nomination of the Attorney-General was the prerogative of the Governor, and without it, according to English law, the office could not be legally discharged. He was a member of the House of Representatives in 1738, and of the Governor's Council in 1741 and 1742. He was an active and influential member of King's Chapel, and a warden in 1735 and 1736. He acquired a wide influence, was an oracle among the sages of Massachusetts Bay, and was accounted the ablest lawyer in the Province. *Vide Life of the Hon. John Read*, by George B. Reed, Boston, 1879; *Lives of Eminent Lawyers, Statesmen, and Men of Letters*, by Samuel L. Knapp, 1829; *History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, by E. Edwards Beardley, D.D., 1865, Vol. I. pp. 21-22; *Suffolk Court Rec-*

ords, 1723 et sequentes; Council Records of Massachusetts Bay, 1723 et sequentes; Annals of King's Chapel, Boston, by the Rev. Henry Wilder Foote, 1882 *passim*.

In the town records of Stratford, Connecticut, his name was spelled "Reed;" but the Rev. Dr. Evan Evans, of Philadelphia, a contemporary, in a letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, refers to him, and spells his name "Read;" and he is otherwise identified as the same who was afterward the distinguished lawyer of Boston. *Vide Hawks and Peery's Church Documents of Connecticut*, Vol. I. p. 38; also *M.S. Letter of the Rev. N. Ellsworth Cornwall*, of Stratford, March 12, 1895.

⁶ Mather Byles was born in Boston in 1706, and died in Boston in 1788; graduated at Harvard College 1725. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Aberdeen in 1765. He was the first minister of the church in Hollis Street, from which he was driven away on account of his loyalty to the British crown.

⁷ Joseph Green was born in 1706, graduated at Harvard College in 1726, was a merchant, a loyalist, proscribed, and banished; died in England in 1780. He was appointed a Mandamus Counsellor, but declined the honor. Some humorous friend composed the following as a suitable epitaph:—

"Siste Viator, here lies one,
Whose life was whim, whose soul was pun;
And if you go too near his herse,
He'll joke you both in prose and verse."

Among other fragments from Green's pen, he indited a friendly lampoon upon Checkley, which is still extant, and which we are tempted to reproduce. Mr. Checkley, in his best estate, was not endowed with the grace of personal beauty, and, after a serious illness, the defects of nature were greatly exaggerated. Several of the coterie to which we have alluded accidentally met at his house, drawn thither to express their sympathy and to give him a cheering word. They jestingly proposed that he should sit for his portrait to Smibert, the distinguished English artist, who was then in Boston, having arrived in the country in the same ship which had brought to our shores the celebrated Dean Berkeley, afterwards the Bishop of Cloyne. Mr. Checkley readily assented. It was then suggested, to render the gift more attractive and complete, that Green should prepare a suitable inscription to be placed under the portrait. He accordingly instantly threw off the following lines, greatly to the merriment of Mr. Checkley and his friends:—

“John, had thy sickness snatch'd thee from our sight,
And sent thee to the realms of endless night,
Posterity would then have never known
Thine eye, thy beard, thy cowl and shaven crown.
But now redeemed by Smibert's skilful hand,
Of immortality secure you stand.
When nature into ruin shall be hurl'd,
And the last conflagration burn the world,
This piece shall then survive the general evil,
For flames, we know, cannot consume the Devil.”

During Mr. Checkley's long residence in England both the nation and the church passed through stirring and trying scenes.

scenes. A little before that time James II. had put forth the utmost strength of his royal prerogative and kingly office to bring back the Roman religion, and establish it once more in both the English Church and State. His efforts to this end in the universities, in the courts of law, and in the army, had all proved abortive. When he had so alienated the people and forfeited their respect that he deemed it no longer personally safe for him to remain in England, he escaped into the friendly domains of the King of France. William and Mary were immediately placed upon the throne, with little or no opposition. The English bishops had manfully resisted all the wily schemes of the King to bring in the Roman Church. They had borne with firmness and dignity the humiliation of arrest and imprisonment.⁸ But now that a new government had been established, a delicate practical question presented itself to the bishops and clergy, and, in fact, to every citizen holding office in the kingdom. The new government required an oath of allegiance, and later, on the death of King William, an oath of abjuration. At the present day, these oaths, in similar circumstances, might perhaps

⁸ King James II., in the year 1687, issued his famous *Declaration of Indulgence*, and ordered the bishops to have it read in the churches. The object of the King was plainly to open the way for the entrance and establishment of the Roman Church in England. The Puritans were caught in the snare, and favored the Declaration. But the bishops, fourteen of them at least, refused to read it as directed by the King. Only two or three were willing to accede to the King's command. Seven of the bishops respectfully presented a petition to the King signifying their reluc-

tance to publish the Declaration. It was signed by Archbishop Sancroft, Lloyd of St. Asaph, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Ken of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Bristol. For this act the seven bishops were imprisoned in the Tower of London. The sympathies of the whole nation were touched by this wanton exhibition of injustice. It was the beginning of the end of the King's power. He soon after thought it prudent to seek an asylum in France. The course of the bishops saved England to the Protestant world.

perhaps be taken without hesitation by any office-bearer in the empire. But at that time the old doctrine of the divine right of kings was entertained by the vast majority of the British people. It had come down to them through many generations. It had early been incorporated into the Jewish Theocracy. The pathetic tenderness of David towards Saul, as the Lord's anointed, had been transmitted and engrafted, as a living principle, into the faith of the people. It had been taught in the family, in the schools, from the pulpit. It had grown with their growth and strengthened with their strength. As the fruit of this teaching, eight of the English bishops and four hundred of the clergy could not conscientiously take the new oath. They had solemnly sworn allegiance to James II. He had not abdicated the throne. He was still living. They did not recognize the authority of the convention Parliament in a matter of so great importance as this. While, therefore, they had little respect for the character of James II., they believed him, nevertheless, to be their lawful sovereign, and therefore they could not swear allegiance to another.

In adhering to their conscientious belief they had everything to lose in a worldly point of view, and nothing whatever to gain. They deliberately exchanged the assurance of comfort, ease, and a generous competence, for a life of hopeless poverty and the maintenance of a good conscience. From their livings they were all ejected. The sympathy of good men was naturally touched by their honesty, bravery, and fidelity to their convictions. Mr. Checkley shared this sympathy, and doubtless expressed it with too much freedom, at least for his own personal comfort, as will appear in the sequel.

This

This temporary schism in the Church of England, growing out of the ejection of so many of its clergy, was the necessary occasion of a thorough study and re-examination of many prominent and practical theological and ecclesiastical questions. The nonjurors, though ejected from their livings, could not be prohibited from the exercise of the functions of their ministerial office. They had committed no crime, they had violated no law of the Church, and consequently the apostolic and sacred office with which they had been invested could not be taken away. The ejected bishops proceeded therefore, doubtless unwisely, to consecrate other bishops, and ordain to the lower orders of the ministry.

It became necessary, therefore, in defence of their proceedings, to show that Episcopacy was wholly independent of all civil governments, that its vital functions could not be touched or affected by the arm of civil power, that it was divine in its origin, apostolical in its character, and sanctioned by the history of the Church, early and late.

Debates on this and other questions were going on during the years of Mr. Checkley's residence in England. A vast number of books and pamphlets, controversial and didactic, on kindred subjects, were issued from the press.⁹ Under the impulse of his eager temperament and active mind, none of these discussions could escape his attention. He fathomed many profound, difficult, and subtle questions. So far as we can now determine, he arrived at his conclusions by the slow process of an exacting logic, a wise, careful, conservative prudence. He rejected numerous specious theories and plausible

⁹ *Vide History of the Nonjurors*, by Thomas Lathbury, M.A., London, 1845, pp. 153-303.

plausible notions, which were freely propagated at that period, and in general accepted only those that have ever since been received by a large majority of the best theologians of the Church of England.

His survey of the theological works which occupied the attention of scholars at that period was thorough and comprehensive. He was familiar with the whole circle of publications by the prolific school of nonjurors. Among them was the Rev. Dr. George Hickes, of inflexible integrity and profound learning; Jeremy Collier, the accomplished and exhaustive historian of the English Church; Charles Leslie, the skilful and voluminous controversialist, who struck hard blows against the Roman Church, and equally hard ones against English dissenters; Robert Nelson, whose work on the Festivals and Fasts of the Church is still a text-book in England and in America; and the faintly Bishop Ken, whose devout piety and refined Christian sentiment, as displayed in his lyrical compositions, place him at once as the compeer of the sweet singer George Herbert.

But there was one other class of divines, of a somewhat different character, who, on certain subjects, were more especially Mr. Checkley's preceptors. For example, Bishop Hoadly, in his argument on the reasonableness of conformity to the Church of England; Dr. Potter, Archbishop of Canterbury, on Church Government; His Grace, Archbishop Wake, in his edition of the Epistles of Ignatius. On these subjects, in which he was especially interested, these distinguished scholars were his teachers. "I am," he says in a private letter to a friend, "a disciple of these great men."¹⁰

Thus

¹⁰ *Vide Letter to Dr. Marshal, postea*, Vol. II. p. 166.

Thus equipped with ample stores of theological learning, with the addition and complement of a thorough knowledge of English literature, together with fine classical attainments and the enrichment and gracious influences of foreign travel, Mr. Checkley returned to the home of his nativity in the full strength and vigor of his early manhood, to enter upon the serious duties of an active, useful, but not altogether unruffled and peaceful career.

But the Boston as he found it in 1710, or thereabouts, was not the Boston of to-day. It was little more than a large, compact, flourishing village. Although the metropolis of New England, its population did not much exceed nine thousand. Its commercial interests were small, and its intercourse, beyond its own limits, was infrequent and slight. A mail was despatched to Maine, and likewise to Plymouth, only once a week, and to Connecticut and New York not oftener than twice a month. Within the precincts of the town there were eight places of religious worship. The members of the Church of England occupied a small wooden structure, situated on a part of the site of the present King's Chapel, on the corner of Tremont and School Streets. A Baptist and a French Protestant congregation had their respective places of worship, and the Friends, or Quakers, had erected a house for their meetings in Brattle Street in 1697. It had recently been sold, and one was about this time erected in Congress Street. These religious bodies were all small in numbers, and included few men of wealth and personal influence in the town. The Governors of the Province, and most of the government attachés, were often, but not uniformly, attendants at the King's Chapel, which gave

gave to that parish a certain official prominence and influence which did not belong to the others. But the religious influence and wealth were largely included within the four great parishes of the Puritan Congregationalists of Massachusetts Bay.

The Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth presided over the First Church, whose house of worship, constructed of wood, was near the Old State House, in Cornhill, now Washington Street, on the site at present occupied by the Rogers Building.

The Second Church was in charge of Drs. Increase and Cotton Mather, father and son, and their house of worship, likewise of wood, was on North Square, their parish comprehending the whole north part of the town.

The Third Church was in the care of the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton, whose place of worship was an unpretending wooden structure, nestling, as it were, at the very feet of the First Church, and subsequently giving place to the massive brick building, with its lofty spire, now known as the Old South, occupying the site on the corner of Washington and Milk Streets.

The Fourth Church was situated on the lower part of Brattle Street, and, like all the others, was constructed of wood. Its minister was the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Coleman.

This rare quartette, at the head of the old Puritan Church, were men of extraordinary qualities, qualities which would render them conspicuous in any age and in any country. Added to their unusual natural abilities, they were endowed with superior learning and a devout piety. In doctrine they followed with exemplary strictness the precepts of their fathers.

fathers. The early New England divines adopted the theological deductions of Augustine, moulded and organized into a theological system by John Calvin, and they transmitted them through several generations with singular fidelity, without change, modification, or mitigation. They were honest and sincere in their beliefs, and equally bold and inflexible in their exhibition. In the acceptance of these doctrines New England was at that time almost a unit. If there were any dissentients they were few and feeble, and were soon swept away by the strong, steady, and irresistible current of an intolerant and narrow dogmatic teaching.

Such was the community, such the surroundings, in the midst of which Mr. Checkley was to make his home on his return to Boston, not far from 1710.

Mr. Checkley was married by the Rev. Peter Thatcher to Rebecca Miller, of Milton, on the 28th day of May, 1713. Her father was Mr. Samuel Miller, a prosperous innkeeper of that town.¹¹ Her brother, the Rev. Ebenezer Miller, graduated at Harvard College in 1722, and subsequently took orders, and became the first rector of Christ Church, Quincy, then a part of Braintree. He was honored by the University of Oxford with the degree of Master of Arts in 1727, and that of Doctor of Divinity in 1747.

On the second day of December, 1717, Mr. Checkley purchased a house and land on the west side of Washington Street, then Cornhill, over against the west end of the old State House, commonly called, at that time, the Town House.¹²

The

¹¹ The historian of Milton says his mansion was "three stories high, stately and aristocratic. It was one of the

best of the times." Its location was on the southern slope of Milton Hill.

¹² A Town House of wood was erected on

The building was of brick, two stories in height, and occupied a part of the present site of the Sears Building. While the purchase was on the above date, Mr. Checkley may already have occupied it for some time, as the owner, of whom he purchased it, was a resident of the city of New York. Here he opened a variety store, and named it the "Crown and Blue-Gate." In this little shop he sold books and medicines, and such small articles of merchandise as would command a ready sale in a thriving New England village. About this spot clustered the life and activity of young Boston. In the Town House, which was a State or Province House as well, directly across the street, the Great and General Court held its sessions and carried on its debates; and there the Governor and his Council held their frequent meetings; and in it the several Courts of Justice were often in session; and near here were centred the book-sellers, the stationers, and the dealers in small-wares of every kind.

Imagination

on this spot in 1658, which was burned in 1711, and a new building, of brick, still standing, and now known as the "Old State House," was erected in 1713. When Mr. Checkley made his purchase of his house on the present site of the Sears Building in 1717, the Town House was new, having been built but four years. The fire of 1711 had destroyed all the buildings on the west side of the street from Court Street to School Street. These structures were all of wood. The new buildings, erected to replace those destroyed, were of brick, and were after the style of the Corner Bookstore, the only one of them now standing. This bears upon its wall the date of 1712. It is occupied as a bookstore by Messrs. Damrell and Upham.

In Washington Street, from Court Street to Rogers Building, occupying the ancient site of the First Church, there were in 1717 four estates, which are now occupied by the Sears Building. The estate on the corner of Washington and Court Streets belonged to Benjamin Walker, and had a frontage of 24 feet. The next was Mr. Checkley's, with a frontage of 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ feet; the third was Samuel Phillips's, stationer, 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet; and the fourth, Andrew Cunningham's, glazier, 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ feet. Mr. Checkley's house was apparently about where the present entrance is to the Sears Building on Washington Street. His lot extended back 158 $\frac{3}{4}$ feet, and was only 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ feet wide at its western extremity.

Imagination easily pictures Mr. Checkley's bookstore as the rendezvous of the small literary coterie to which we have already referred. Here went on, for many years, lively discussions of topics of local interest; English politics and English scandal; the last book printed in London; the recent sermon of Dr. Cotton Mather, perhaps on election, decrees, foreknowledge, and predestination; the eloquence of young Coleman in Brattle Street, whom the older divines were tolerating with a qualified fellowship; the new English church at the north end of the town, the arrival of its distinguished rector, the eloquent and learned Dr. Timothy Cutler, who had carried dismay into the ranks of his friends in Connecticut, by leaving the presidency of Yale College to take orders in the Church of England.¹³

Mr. Checkley, the senior in age of most of those belonging to the coterie who frequented his bookstore, *primus inter pares*, always present and always the centre of interest, entertained his listeners doubtless with graphic pictures of his travels in Europe, with pathetic stories of the suffering nonjurors, and if with less pathos, doubtless with greater earnestness and profounder learning, he unfolded the doctrine of the historic Episcopate, tracing it back to the early fathers, and pointing out its recognition in the New Testament, asserting, with great positiveness and vigor of language, its apostolic and divine origin and its exclusive character.¹⁴

These discussions have not been preserved, either in manuscript or print, and they cannot therefore be reproduced in
the

¹³ *Vide Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 297. *and Government settled by Christ and his Apostles in the Church*, Boston,

¹⁴ *Vide A Modest Proof of the Order* 1723, *postea*, p. 179.

the vigorous language of Mr. Checkley, adorned and pointed as they must have been by his keen sarcasms, his pithy humor, and his caustic wit. But they did not die away as they were uttered within the walls of his little bookstore. They were too startling and unusual not to reach a much larger audience. They penetrated everywhere. They were repeated in the drawing-room and in the family circle. The ministers of the standing order heard of Mr. Checkley's strange doctrines with gravity and alarm. A belief in the apostolic origin of Episcopacy, and especially its promulgation, was a menace to their order, and to the truth of God as it had been handed down to them from their fathers. They clearly regarded Mr. Checkley as a disturber of the peace, certainly of their peace, and if they could suppress and humiliate him, they charitably hoped it would be useful to him, as they were sure it would be a relief and benefit to themselves.

It was not unnatural that the Puritan ministers of that day and their followers should feel both annoyed and alarmed. New England was their inheritance and domain. They had held it in full possession for ninety years. They had never allowed any interference with their prerogatives. The Baptists had been disfranchised, imprisoned, banished.¹⁵ The Quakers, some of whose first-comers had been violent and provoking, using the King's English with freedom, were whipped, imprisoned, mutilated, banished, and, for persistence

¹⁵ "*Nititur in vetitum* was verified in this proceeding, as it usually is in like cases. Severity made converts, and then it was thought advisable to cease

from further prosecutions." *History of Massachusetts*, by Thomas Hutchinson, 1795. Vol. I. p. 203.

Since the completion of this Memoir the

ence in residing in the Colony after sentence of banishment, some of them had suffered the penalty of death.¹⁶ Nevertheless, neither the Baptists nor the Quakers were wholly suppressed, but still, under unequal privileges, maintained a feeble existence. Carnal weapons were at length ostensibly laid aside. Clipping of ears, the lash, and hanging were no longer regarded as proper punishments for the promulgation of religious opinions, however annoying and damaging to their cherished faith; still the law had its remedy in fines and imprisonments for those who too vigorously assailed the Puritans, their doctrines, and their usages, or who forced them to disagreeable logical conclusions.

In Massachusetts Bay the Puritan ministers and magistrates had been from the beginning actively hostile to the Church of England, to its practices, its rites, its ceremonies, and especially to its characteristic doctrine of Episcopacy. They appear to have proceeded on the old Latin maxim, "Principiis obsta; fero medicina paratur, cum mala per longas convaluere moras."

As early as 1629, John and Samuel Browne, the one a lawyer and the other a merchant, both members of the Council,

the author has read *The Emancipation of Massachusetts*, by Brooks Adams, and if the reader desires to see the treatment which the Baptists received in detail, he will find it outlined very clearly, and with sufficient fulness, in that work, pp. 105-127.

¹⁶ A detailed and authentic account of the treatment of the Quakers will be found in *Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts*, Vol. I, 3d ed. pp. 180-189. In cruelty it rivalled the Spanish Inquisition, in which doubtless both the Span-

iards and the New Englanders flattered themselves that they were doing God service.

The extraordinary statements of some of the Puritan divines touching the Quakers, and the singular defence of their treatment of the Quakers by the historians, the Rev. Dr. H. M. Dexter, the Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis, and the Rev. Dr. John G. Palfrey, will be found in *The Emancipation of Massachusetts*, by Brooks Adams, Boston, 1887, pp. 135-178.

Council, gentlemen of character and respectability, had the strange fancy of desiring to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, a privilege which the Puritans were brave in demanding for themselves, but were not generous enough to accord to others. They accordingly instituted a service, in a private house in Salem, using the Book of Common Prayer. This proceeding was regarded as seditious, and, with little ceremony, these gentlemen were hustled out of the Colony, and sent back to England.¹⁷

No Episcopal parish was organized, or service regularly established, in any part of New England until 1686. Nevertheless, in 1659, twenty-seven years before there was any semblance of a Church of England set up in the Colony, the General Court of Massachusetts Bay thought it expedient to make the following law forbidding the observance of Christmas in any manner whatever:—

“For preventing disorders arising in severall places within this jurisdiction, by reason of some still observing such feftivalls as were superstitiously kept in other countrys, to the great dishonour of God & offence of others, it is therefore ordered by this Court and the authority thereof, that whosoever shall be found observing any such day as Christmas or the like, either by forbearing of labor, or feasting, or any other way, vpon any such accounts as aforesajd, euery such person so offending shall pay for euery such offence five shillings, as a fine to the county.” *Vide Records of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay*, Vol. IV. Part I. p. 366.

It is impossible to conceive that there was at that time, or indeed at any time, a need for such a law. That the few scattered

¹⁷ *Vide Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts*, 3d ed., Boston, 1795, Vol. I. p. 19.

scattered Churchmen in Massachusetts Bay were likely to indulge in any unlawful conduct is highly improbable. If such had been the case, disorders thus arising could have been easily controlled by the ordinary police arrangements, which were abundant and efficient in every part of the Colony. Under these circumstances, the implication cannot be avoided that the object of the law, in the minds of those who made it, was not to prevent disorders of which there was no danger, but rather to forestall any of the Christian observances which are wrought into the whole system of worship in the Church of England, but which the members of the General Court regarded as the offspring of superstition, and a dishonor to God.

The character of the law itself was cruel and exacting. Under it no observance whatever of the birthday of Christ was lawful. The day could not be kept by the Churchman in the most private way. He could not refrain from his ordinary occupations for this purpose without the fear of arrest and a fine. He might, indeed, call his family together on the day before, and say to them, "To-morrow is Christmas Day, the birthday of Christ, our Saviour. This great day of the year is observed all over the world with appropriate religious services. You remember how pleasant it was to us when, many years ago, we were in Old England: the merry bells that called us to church; the spirit of love and gratitude that filled the sermon of our good vicar; the joy that beamed on every face; the warm gratulations and kind wishes showered upon us by our friends; how we gladdened the hearts of the poor, in our small way, by sending them some token, some memorial of the blessedness that this good
Christmas

Christmas commemorates. And we shall none of us ever forget how happy we all were when we gathered about our simple board, more plentiful and a little better than usual, that it might fitly represent the joy that filled our hearts. We may hope that some time this joy may come to us again. We may even now bless God for this gracious day, but; at present, the law of these unhappy Puritans makes it a crime by any act of ours to express, on this day, the gratitude that fills our hearts."

The law thus prohibiting the observance of Christmas was passed by the General Court of Massachusetts Bay on the 11th day of May, 1659. As the Commonwealth of England was at that time still in existence, under the protectorate of Richard Cromwell, it was naturally supposed that there would be no objection made by the home government to a law so utterly at variance with the spirit of the English constitution. Had that form of government survived, such, doubtless, would have been the case. But two days after the passage of the obnoxious law, on the 13th of May, 1659, Richard Cromwell resigned his office as Protector of England. Charles II. soon after came to the throne. On the 28th of June, 1662, the King addressed a letter to the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, calling their attention to several matters which required immediate action. Among the rest was the following relating to the freedom of worshipping according to the form and usages of the Church of England:—

"Since the principall end & foundation of that charter was & is the freedom & liberty of conscience, wee doe hereby charge & require that that freedom & liberty be ducly admitted & allowed, so
that

that such as desire to vse the Booke of Cōmon Prayer, & performe their deuotions in that manner as is established here, be not debarred the exercife thereof, or vndergoe any prejudice or disadvantage thereby, they vsing their liberty wth out disturbanc to others, & that all persons of good & honest liues & conuerfations be admitted to the sacrement of the Lords Supper, according to the Booke of Cōmon Prajer, & their children to baptifme." *Vide Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay*, Vol. IV. Part II. p. 165.

After a long delay, the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay sent what purported to be a reply, which, however, contained no allusion to the cardinal passages in the King's communication to them. On being pushed for a definite reply to the demand of the King touching the use of the Book of Common Prayer, they finally, on the 16th of May, 1665, three years after their attention had been called to the subject by the King, gave the following as their formal answer: —

“Concerning the vse of the Cōmon Prayer Booke.

“Our humble addressees to his Maj^{ty} haue fully declared our majne ends in our being voluntary exiles from our dear native country, which wee had not chofen at so deare a rate, could wee haue seene the word of God, warranting us to performe our deuotions in that way, & to haue the same set vp here: wee conceive it is apparent that it will disturbe our peace in our present enjoyments.” *Vide Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay*, Vol. IV. Part II. p. 200.

This answer, somewhat indirect, is nevertheless plain in its meaning. They obviously wished to be understood that the introduction of worship according to the Book of Common Prayer into the Colony would be disagreeable to them,
and

and beyond this they had nothing whatever to say. Their intentions they did not care to disclose. The law which they had passed against the observance of Christmas remained on the statute-book more than twenty years, but was finally repealed at the May session of the General Court in 1681.¹⁸

The fixed hostility to the Church of England in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay is also clearly indicated by various statements made in printed sermons and other publications, which were freely and widely circulated among the people. A few sentences or extracts, or the simple title of some of these publications, will be all that will be necessary to make the truth of this statement apparent.

In 1650 a volume was published in London, and circulated in Boston, entitled a "Treasure Fetched out of Rubbish," consisting

¹⁸ The enactment of this law was perhaps suggested by the action of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, under Cromwell, against the use of the Book of Common Prayer.

An ordinance was passed on the 3d of January, 1645, N. S., abolishing the use of the Book of Common Prayer, in these words, viz.: "that the said Book of Common Prayer shall not remain, or be from henceforth used, in any church, chapel, or place of public worship, within the kingdom of England or dominion of Wales." No penalty was attached to the violation of this law, nor was the use of the book in private forbidden. They found, therefore, "little fruit of this ordinance." Accordingly, six months later, on the 23d of August, 1645, the Parliament passed a much more stringent law in the following words, viz.: "And it is further hereby ordained by the said Lords and Commons, that if any person or persons

whatsoever shall at any time or times hereafter use or cause the aforesaid Book of Common Prayer to be used in any church, chapel, or public place of worship, or in any private place or family within the kingdom of England or dominion of Wales or port or town of Berwick, that then every such person so offending therein shall, for the first offence, forfeit and pay the sum of five pounds of lawful English money; for the second offence, the sum of ten pounds; and for the third offence, shall suffer one whole year's imprisonment, without bail or mainprize."

This was called *root and branch* legislation.

Vide A DIRECTORY FOR the Public Worship of GOD, Throughout the Three KINGDOMES of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Together with an Ordinance of Parliament for the taking away of the Book of COMMON PRAYER; &c. &c. London, 1644.

consisting of three parts, two of which were written by the Rev. John Cotton, the first minister of Boston, the third was by the Rev. Robert Nichols, in which he vigorously declaims against the use of the Surplice, the sign of the Cross in baptism, and the practice of kneeling in the act of receiving the Sacramental Bread and Wine.

In 1689 the Rev. Dr. Increase Mather, one of the ablest of the early New England divines, and for some years President of Harvard College, published a volume entitled "A Brief Discourse Concerning the unlawfulness of the Common Prayer Worship, and of Laying the Hand on, and Kissing the Booke in Swearing."

The following are some of the prominent reasons alleged for its unlawfulness:—

"The ceremonies and worship prescribed therein I find to be in great measure Popish and heathenish."

"Such things are enjoined in the Common Prayer Booke as (to my conscience) cannot be Practised without sin."

"There are superstitions both recommended and imposed in the Liturgy."

"In this Age of Light, it would in mee, (and all others so educated and instructed as I have been) appear to be a great Apostacy, should I in the least countenance or comply with the Common Prayer worship."

An answer to this book was published in London in 1693. In the Preface the author refers to the humorous report, which some wag had apparently put in circulation, that sundry deluded people of Boston had broken into King's Chapel to search for the images which they supposed were worshipped there!!

In 1690 the annual sermon before the General Court, commonly called the election sermon, was preached by the Rev. Cotton Mather, D.D., the most learned, and in some ways the most distinguished divine among the New England ministers of that period. During the year previous, the members of the Church of England had erected a house of worship, called King's Chapel, which had been opened for Divine Service on the 30th day of June, 1689. The permanent establishment of the Church of England in the town of Boston was no longer an open question. It apparently seemed wise and prudent to this great leader of ecclesiastical opinion, and watchman on the walls of the New England Zion, to make known to the whole people of the Province, through the members of the General Court, the dangers which were impending over them, and the proper opinion which they ought to entertain towards the doctrines and usages of the Church of England. The following two passages from this sermon of Dr. Cotton Mather will render this sufficiently apparent:—

“Let all mankind know, That we came into the Wilderness, because we would quietly worship God without that *Episcopacy*, that Common Prayer, and those unwarrantable *Ceremonies*, which the *Land of our Father's Sepulchres*, has been defiled with; we came, because we would have our Posterity settled under the pure and full *Dispensations* of the Gospel, defended by the *Rulers that should be of ourselves, and Governors that should proceed from the midst of us.*”

“There is one thing more to be Done for us; and I shall propound it in words like those of the Prophet, *Deliver thy self, O New-England, from every thing that may look like a Daughter of Babylon.* I have the confidence to tell you, That the *Myslical Babylon* is just entering into that Vintage which will cause horrible and fiery plagues

to impend over the Heads of those that shall have the *Superstitions of Popery* polluting them. We cannot more consult our own Welfare than by such an entire and open Departure from *Rome* as the *Holy God* will speedily dispose the *European World* unto. I dare publish it, as my Humble Conjecture and Perswasion, *That the last Slaughter of the Lord's Witnesses is over*; and that we are got more than two years Depth,¹⁹ into those *Earth quakes* which will shake yet, until they have shaken the *Papal Empire* to pieces, and shaken out the very Hearts of them, that shall not come out of her. If therefore we would be safe, at such a Time, the best thing to be Done is this, *Let us not so much as Touch the Unclean Thing, or hide so much as a Rag or Pin of a Babylonish Garment with us.* For the Children of this Countrey to maintain any part of the *Romish Worship*, would indeed be not only a wild *Indiscretion*, but also a vile *Apostacie*; and those persons are far from discerning the *Signs of the Times*, who think it worth the while for them now to forego that Great Anti-papal Principle, *That no party of men whatever, calling themselves, The Church have any just Authority, to appoint any parts or means of*

Divine

¹⁹ This is a reference to the revolution in England in 1688. and to the establishment of William and Mary upon the throne of England. Dr. Mather was quite ready to hazard a "conjecture" and proclaim his "perswasion" that the Roman Church, the mystical Babylon, was soon to fall to "pieces." Classifying with it the Church of England, it would be a "wild indiscretion" and a "vile apostacie" to have anything whatever to do with the Church of England. This method of creating prejudices against the Church of England by coupling it with the Church of Rome was a common expedient at that time, and continued to be for a hundred and fifty years, but the practice has now pretty much subsided.

The reader will observe that the Church of England, as pictured in these

extracts from Dr. Cotton Mather's sermon, was not quite the same as that described by the Rev. Francis Higginson, the first minister of Salem, who, calling his children and friends around him, said, as they took their last view of old England on leaving its shores: —

"We will not say as the Separatists are wont to say, on leaving England, Farewell Babylon! Farewell Rome! But we will say, Farewell dear England! Farewell the Church of God in England, and all the christian friends there! We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it; but we go to practise the positive part of church reformation, and propagate the Gospel in America." *Vide Magnalia Christi Americana*, by Cotton Mather, Vol. I. p. 362. Hartford, ed. 1855.

Divine Worship, which the Lord Jesus Christ has not in the Sacred Bible Instituted. Let us keep the *second Commandment*, and our God will *show Mercy* to us, for more than one Generation. If we cannot find that any *Forms of Prayer* were used in any part of the Church until about *Four Hundred* years after Christ; nor any made for more than some single Province, until *Six hundred* years; nor any imposed, until *Eight hundred*, when all manner of Abominations were introduced; surely it becomes *Us* to be particularly Averse unto *such* as may have somewhat worse than their *Novelty*, to create our suspicion of them; and it becomes us much more to be *Non Conformists* unto such other *Church Rites* therein advised, as was not so much as conceived, until the *Man of Sin* was born. Could I speak with a voice as loud as the *Last Trumpet*, I should not fear to tell you, The *God of our Fathers* will blast that *Worldly Wisdom* which counts it a conveniency for us to Dissemble our *Non Conformity* to whatever *vain Worship*, has nothing but the *Tradition of men* to Warrant it."²⁰ Vide a Discourse made unto the General Court at the Election, May 28, 1690, pp. 31-52.

Of this blast of Dr. Cotton Mather's sonorous trumpet it may be justly said, it gave no uncertain sound.

Of the prominent laymen among the New England Puritans

²⁰ This discourse, widely diffeminated, must have had, as it was plainly intended, a very powerful effect in deepening the prejudice against the parish of King's Chapel, which had just been established in Boston, as well as against the Church of England generally.

If the reader is curious to know how early liturgical services, or precomposed forms of prayer were used in Christian worship, he will find an authentic and satisfactory treatment of the subject in an introductory chapter in a work entitled *A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, by Charles

Wheatley. It was first published in 1714, and has passed through a vast number of editions. The last of which I have any knowledge appeared in London in 1862. Doubtless others have been issued since. Dr. Mather's hypothetical form of statement was a fine achievement of rhetoric. It offered a method of producing an impression on the minds of his hearers that no forms of prayer were used until about four hundred years after Christ, while he did not dare in conscience to say directly that none were used at a much earlier period.

Puritans of the last part of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth centuries, Samuel Sewall was among the most conspicuous. A graduate of Harvard College, a superior classical scholar, he held the office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and numerous inferior offices for many years in the Province of Massachusetts Bay. He was a man of a comprehensive and well-balanced mind, of the highest probity, of a clear and discerning judgment, kind and beneficent, exceedingly devout, and conscientiously loyal to the spirit and letter of the teaching which he had received from his early youth up to his riper manhood. In his *Diary and Letter-book* we get many glimpses of the deeply seated prejudice and fixed feeling of hostility and hatred which he entertained against the Church of England, and which governed his conduct whenever he was called upon to act with reference to the doctrines and usages of that church.

These prejudices were common both to ministers and laymen throughout the whole domain of New England. We are under great obligation to Judge Sewall for putting them on record. They were the natural outcome and legitimate fruit of their education, of the forces that surrounded them. From these prejudices there was no escape. The whole New England people were held by them as in an iron grasp; they seemed to be under a spell from which no earthly power could set them free.

The force of these prejudices will be apparent from a few citations from the sources above mentioned.

When the services of the Church of England were first introduced into Boston, having no church edifice, the favor was solicited of holding service in one of the Congregational meeting-houses.

meeting-houses. Under the date of December 21, 1686, Sewall makes the following entry:—

“There is a Meeting at Mr. Allen’s,²¹ of the Ministers and four of each Congregation, to consider what answer to give to the Governour; and ’twas agreed that could not with a good conscience consent that our Meeting-Houses should be made use of for the Common-Prayer Worship.” *Vide Sewall’s Diary*, Vol. I. p. 162.

December 25, 1685. “Carts come to Town and Shops open as is usual. Some somehow observe the day; but are vexed I believe that the Body of the People profane it, and, blessed be God, no Authority yet to compell them to keep it.” *Sewall’s Diary*, Vol. I. p. 114.

December 31, 1685. Mr. Allen preaches. “Spoke against Observing the 25 Instant, called it Antichristian Heresie: Spoke against the Name.” *Sewall’s Diary*, Vol. I. p. 115.

In 1688 the members of the Church of England desired to purchase a piece of land on which to place a church which they were about to erect. They applied to Judge Sewall for a lot at Cotton-Hill, which belonged to his family, and of which he had charge. The reasons he gave for declining to sell indicate his feeling towards the Church of England:

“March 28, 1688. Capt Davis spake to me for Land to set a Church on. I told him could not, would not, put Mr Cotton’s Land to such an use, and besides ’twas entail’d.²² After, Mr Randolph²³ saw

²¹ The Rev. James Allen, minister of the first Congregational Church of Boston from 1662 to his death in 1710. He was educated at the University of Oxford, and was some time a Fellow of New College.

²² The land desired was at Cotton Hill, which was the eminence opposite King’s Chapel Burying Ground. It had once belonged to the Rev. John Cotton,

after whom the hill took its name. But it now belonged to the estate of John Hull, the mint-master of Massachusetts Bay. After his death a life-interest in it fell to his daughter Hannah, the wife of Judge Samuel Sewall, and, after her death, it passed by law to the three children of Judge Sewall.

²³ Edward Randolph. For some account of him *vide The History of Massachusetts*

law me, and had me to his House to see the Landscips of Oxford Colledges and Halls. Left me with Mr Ratcliff,²⁴ who spoke to me for Land at Cotton-Hill for a Church which were going to build; I told him I could not, first because I would not set up that which the People of N. E. came over to avoid; 2^d the Land was Entail'd. In after discourse I mentioned chiefly the Crofs in Baptism, and Holy Dayes." *Sewall's Diary*, Vol. I. p. 207.

December 25, 1697. "Snowy day. Shops are open, and Carts and sleds come to Town with Wood and Fagots as formerly. . . . I took occasion to dehort mine from Christmas-keeping, and charged them to forbear. . . . Joseph²⁵ tells me that though most of the Boys went to the Church yet he went not." *Sewall's Diary*, Vol. I. p. 466.

January 4, 1698-9. "This day I spake with Mr Newman about his partaking with the French church on the 25 December on account of its being Christmas-day, as they abusively call it. He stoutly defended the Holy-Days and church of England." *Sewall's Diary*, Vol. I. p. 491.

When Col. Samuel Shute was Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay he desired, in 1722, that the General Court should adjourn, in order that he and others, who wished to do so, might observe Christmas-day with appropriate services. The following extracts from Sewall's Diary will show what care the Governor took to conciliate, and to secure the adjournment

Massachusetts by Thomas Hutchinson, late Governor. A very large collection of Mr. Randolph's correspondence has been made by the Prince Society, which will appear in a subsequent publication.

²⁴ The Rev. Robert Radcliff, the Rector of King's Chapel, and the first settled minister of the Church of England in Massachusetts Bay, who arrived in Boston on the 15th day of May, 1686. He returned to England in July, 1689.

²⁵ The Rev. Joseph Sewall, son of Judge Sewall, born Aug. 26, 1688, and died June 27, 1769; graduated at Harvard 1707. He was a minister of the Old South Church, Boston from 1713 to 1769. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Glasgow in 1731. His publications were mostly sermons, of which he left a large number.

adjournment with the willing concurrence of the Council, and how signally he failed:—

Decr. 19, 1722. “His Excellency²⁶ took me aside to the Southeast Window of the Council Chamber, to speak to me about adjourning the Gen^l Court to Monday next because of Christmas. I told his Excellency I would consider of it.

Dec^r 20. I invited Dr Mather to Dine with me, not knowing that he preach’d. After Dinner I consultd with him about the Adjournment of the Court. We agreed, that ’twould be expedient to take a vote of the Council and Representatives for it.

Friday Dec^r 21, p m. The Gov^r took me to the window again looking Eastward, next Mrs Phillips’s, and spake to me again about adjourning the Court to next Wednesday. I spake against it; and propounded that the Gov^r would take a Vote for it; that he would hold the Balance even between the Church and us. His Excellency went to the Board again, and said much for this adjourning; All kept Christmas but we; I suggested K. James the first to Mr Dudley, how he boasted what a pure church he had; and they did not keep Yule nor Pasch.

Mr Dudley²⁷ ask’d if the Scots kept Christmas. His Excellency protested, he believed they did not. Gov^r said they adjourned for the Comencement and Artillery. But then ’tis by Agreement. Col Taylor²⁸ spake so loud and boisterously for Adjourning, that ’twas hard

²⁶ Col. Shute was a distinguished officer in the English Army. He was Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay from 1716 to 1723. He was a native of London, born in 1653, and died April 15, 1742.

²⁷ The Hon. Paul Dudley, a Councillor from 1718 to 1736, except for the year 1730, who was at this time one of the judges of the Supreme Court. He afterwards became chief-justice. He bequeathed to Harvard College £100, to establish what is now known as the

Dudleian Lectures, one of which was to be on the validity of the ordination of Congregational ministers.

²⁸ The Hon. William Taylor, an active and prominent member of King’s Chapel, Lieut.-Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay in 1711; a Councillor from 1714 to 1729; was captain of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 1712; was colonel of a regiment raised to take Port Royal. He died in 1732.

hard for any to put in a word; Col Townsend²⁹ seconded me, and Col Partridge; because this would prolong the Sessions. Mr. Davenport³⁰ stood up and gave it as his opinion, that twould not be Convenient for the Gov^r to be present in Court that day; and therefore was for Adjourning. But the Gov^r is often absent; and yet the Council and Representatives go on. Now the Gov^r has told us, that he would go away for a week; and then return'd and if he liked what we had done, He would consent to it. Gov^r mention'd how it would apear to have Votes pass'd on Dec^r 25. But his Excellency need not have been present nor sign'd any Bill that day. I said the Dissenters came a great way for their Liberties and now the Church had theirs, yet they could not be contented, except they might Tread all others down. Gov^r said he was of the Church of England. I told Mr Belcher³¹ of his Letter to me. He answer'd, He thought he had been a Dissenter then. Gov^r hinted that he must be free on Monday because of the Communion the next day.

Satterday Dec^r 22. about a quarter of an hour before 12. the Gov^r adjourn'd the Court to Wednesday morn. 10. a-clock, and sent Mr Secretary into the Houfe of Deputies to do it there."³² *Sewall's Diary*, Vol. III. p. 314-16.

It

²⁹ Col. Penn Townsend. Chief Justice of the Suffolk Superior Court, a representative for many years. speaker of the Houfe, and a member of the Council. Born in 1651, and died in 1727. He was a wine-merchant, and prominent in the affairs of the town for many years.

³⁰ The Hon. Addington Davenport. He held many public offices, and at this time was a judge of the Supreme Court, which office he held from 1715 to his death, in 1736. He was the father of the Rev. Dr. Addington Davenport, Rector of Trinity Church.

³¹ The Hon. Jonathan Belcher, born in 1682; died in 1757; graduated at Harvard College 1699. He was a mem-

ber of the Council from 1722 to 1727, excepting for the years 1724 and 1725. He was Governor of the Province of Massachusetts and of New Hampshire from 1730 to 1741. He was subsequently Governor of New Jersey.

³² In Sewall's *Diary*, Vol. II. pp. 394-5, the reader will find an incident characteristic of Sewall's deep-seated prejudice, and his hatred of the Church of England. Giles Dyer, a warden of King's Chapel, and sheriff of the county, had died, and, according to the custom, the dignitaries and officials attended his funeral. It was in the chapel, and the Rev. Mr. Harris, the assistant minister, delivered a funeral discourse. Judge Sewall

It would be easy to cite numerous other statements in early New England publications of the same purport. But these extracts are sufficient, I think, to indicate the strength of the prejudice and the persistent and almost virulent hostility, which prevailed in Massachusetts Bay against the Church of England. Whether these prejudices and this hostility were well founded it is not necessary to determine, or even to discuss. That they really existed is all we need to know for our present purposes in this narrative. The fact of their existence is abundantly verified. This hostile feeling reached all classes and ranks of men. It was active, vigilant, and strong. The ministers in the pulpit breathed it out in their prayers, and reiterated it in their public discourses. The officials, from the Puritan governor to the obscurest scribe, used the influence of their place to intensify it and diffuse it among the people. In some it was the hostility of a fixed principle, in others it was the hatred of an abnormal zeal. In a few it was exercised with the force and energy of both. In all it was narrow and imperious. Outspoken opposition to the popular view was not tolerated, and when it was attempted, if it could not be crushed out by any legal process, social ostracism followed as the inevitable consequence. This was not altogether unnatural. It is what would possibly have

Sewall was invited to be one of the bearers, together with Sir Charles Hobby, Col. Hutchinson, and others. After finding that there was to be a sermon by the Rev. Mr. Harris, he says, "I now began to be distressed." "In the evening [before the funeral] I sent one to call out Jn^o Roberts, and told him it so fell out, I could not be a

Bearer, and bid him to drop such a word that I had rather wear a pair of Gloves for his sake." . . . "I have a pair of Gloves sent me." . . . "All seem'd to be for going to hear the sermon except Major Gen^l [Winthrop] and I. Went in to Col Townsend's; when had drunk, the Major Gen^l and I went away."

have taken place at that period, in any community in exactly the same circumstances. It required the heart of a lion and the spirit of a martyr to breast the tide, and speak out, what one honestly believed in opposition to the prevailing Puritan sentiment.

There was probably at that time no member of the Church of England in Massachusetts Bay, except Mr. John Checkley, who by education, force of character, strength of will, and conscientious sense of duty could summon the courage to perform the disagreeable task of stating plainly, fully, and publicly the doctrines of the Church of England, as he understood them, with all their logical and damaging consequences to the teaching of the New England divines. This Mr. Checkley did, as we shall see in the sequel, with a frankness, directness, and completeness, that proved how heartily he believed the doctrines which he announced, how ready he was to meet any opposition on a fair field of dialectics, and to abide the consequences whether in triumph or in defeat.

In the year 1719, Mr. Checkley issued an edition of the Rev. Charles Leslie's treatise, entitled "The Religion of Jesus Christ the only True Religion, or a Short and Easy Method with the Deists, Wherein the Certainty of the Christian Religion is demonstrated by infallible Proof from Four Rules, which are Incompatible to any Imposture that ever yet has been, or that can possibly be. In a letter to a Friend. The Seventh Edition. Boston; Printed by J. Fleet, and are to be sold by JOHN CHECKLEY at the Sign of the *Crown* and *Blue Gate* over against the *West* end of the Town-House. 1719."

To this publication was added a translation of the Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Trallians, with the following note:—

“S^t *Ignatius*, the author of the Epistle, was a companion of the *Apostles*, and was taught the Faith of *Christ* from their Mouths: He wrote this Epistle with many other as He was on his way to *Rome*, where He seal'd the *Truth* of what He had taught and written with his Blood, being cast to the wild Beasts: Thus dying a glorious *Martyr* of the ever blessed *Jesus*.

“His *Martyrdom* was but a few Years after the Death of S^t *John*, who wrote the *Revelations*.”

The design of Mr. Checkley in this publication was apparently twofold. While it brought to the notice of its readers the argument of Leslie against the Deists, which has been regarded as unanswerable by orthodox Christians down to the present time, it placed before them the testimony of Ignatius, a companion of the Apostles, to the existence, in his time, of the three orders of the Christian Ministry, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons. It was, indeed, an argument for the existence of Episcopacy in Apostolic times, thrown out in the original document, needing no comment or commendation.

The same year Mr. Checkley issued another pamphlet, calling in question the Calvinistic and current view of the doctrine of “Election and Predestination,” entitled “*Choice Dialogues Between a Godly Minister and an Honest Countryman Concerning Election & Predestination*. Detecting the false Principles of a certain Man, who calls himself a *Presbyter* of the *Church of England*. By a *Reverend and Laborious Pastor in Christ's Flock*, by *One* who has been, for almost

twice

twice thirty years, a faithful & Painful Labourer in Christ's Vine-yard."

Appended to this publication is the Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Magnesians, and substantially the same note which was introduced at the end of the previous publication. This pamphlet contains neither date nor name of the publisher. For the omission of the publisher's name a good reason may be easily assigned. No printer or publisher could think it expedient to attach his name to a publication, at that time, which assailed two fundamental doctrines of the Congregational creed. An answer to this pamphlet appeared in 1720 by the Rev. Thomas Walter, an intimate friend of Mr. Checkley, written with great vigor, ornamented with pungent sarcasm, and caustic wit. In the preface he says, "I was the other day very much surpris'd to meet with a small Pamphlet wearing the specious and very promising Title: Choice Dialogues," &c. &c. It is obvious from this remark that the Choice Dialogues had been printed but a short time before. Walter's brochure was elaborate and learned, and allowing sufficient time for its preparation, we conclude that Mr. Checkley's pamphlet without date was really issued in 1719 or 1720.

On the 2d of December, 1719, a law was enacted by the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, and promulgated on the 11th of that month, by which authority was given to any two or more Justices of the Peace to tender to any person whom they suspected to be disaffected to his Majesty or to his Government, an oath of allegiance and abjuration.

It was denominated "an act in addition to an act entitled an act requiring the taking of oaths appointed to be taken
instead

John Checkley.

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instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy made in the fourth year of the reign of the late King William and Queen Mary of blessed memory."

The proximity, as to time, in the publication of the two pamphlets, the titles of which we have given above, and the passage of the law just referred to, is noteworthy and suggestive. The two, the publications and the passage of the law, appear to have a very close logical relation. The one was not only the *post hoc* of the other, but apparently the *propter hoc* likewise. It was now twenty-seven years since the original law, requiring these oaths, had been on the statute books of England. In all these years no exigency had arisen in the Province of Massachusetts Bay for any special legislation for the enforcement of this law. No combination against his Majesty's government had been discovered or alleged. No act of hostility to it had been detected or reported. The motive which inspired the enactment of this law, at that late day, seems plainly to point to the publication of these two pamphlets. They were direct attacks upon fundamental doctrines, which had from the beginning been taught in the pulpits of Massachusetts Bay. It was not unnatural that the ministers and authorities should wish to see the author suppressed and humiliated, or at least his influence limited and curtailed. Mr. Checkley had undoubtedly used great freedom of speech. He had, we may well believe, expressed a tender sympathy for the suffering and impoverished Nonjurors. He had openly and persistently advocated and defended the doctrines and practice of the Church of England. The Puritan ministers and prominent laymen could well see that these new ideas and

strange

strange doctrines would be contagious, and gain more or less adherents from their own body. They could not be resisted by argument or persuasion. Mr. Checkley's position, his intercourse and contact with young men, his ability and influence could not be matched by any disputant which they could put into the field. They must look to the seat of justice for a remedy. They fancied that the new law would minister to him a wholesome lesson of humility, and that it would stigmatize him so effectually, as hostile to the English government, that his influence would cease to be dangerous in the sober little town of Boston.

Not long after the passage of the new law, two or more Justices of the Peace presented themselves to Mr. Checkley, and informed him that he was *suspected* of being disaffected to his Majesty, and his Government, and that it became their duty to tender to him the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, according to the provisions of the law, which had recently been passed by the General Court. Whether this announcement came upon Mr. Checkley as a surprise we know not; but unfortunately for him, and perhaps for both parties, he was not in a submissive state of mind. There is no evidence that he was not at that, and at all other times, friendly and loyal to the Government of George I. He was doubtless then contemplating taking orders in the Church of England at some future time, when it would be necessary to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which a disaffected or disloyal subject could not do. He subsequently, in a private letter, spoke of "that Scandalous Report of my being disaffected." His conscious innocence and the falseness of the suspicion naturally awakened in his warm temperament a
lively

lively indignation, that he should be singled out from among the citizens of Boston, and without any overt act of disloyalty or any opportunity to prove his innocence, made to take an oath for his good behavior, who in his own judgment had given no cause even for a suspicion of his disaffection or disloyalty in the past. It is always vexatious to a strictly honest man and a man of spirit to seem to be prevented from doing wrong by some constraint placed upon him by his neighbors. Such constraint is a stigma, which most men would avoid, if possible. The act of taking the oath under the threat of a penalty if he did not, might be construed as a quasi confession that he was guilty of the charge alleged. For this Mr. Checkley was by no means prepared.

It is easy to see, in the light of what soon after followed, that it would have been far wiser had he taken the oaths, and thus rid himself of further annoyance. But at that time he was not in an attitude of mind for such an act of cool, exalted wisdom.

To the demand of the magistrates he accordingly returned a firm and unhesitating refusal. He was then informed that he could have the following option, viz., to be incarcerated in the common jail, there to remain, without bail or main-prize, for the space of three months, or pay over a certain sum of money, not exceeding forty shillings, for the support of the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay, or become bound with two sufficient sureties for his good behavior, and appear at the next General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, where the oaths would again be tendered to him by the Justices of that court in open session.

Mr.

Mr. Checkley chose the latter alternative, and satisfactory sureties were promptly furnished.

The next General Quarter Sessions of the Peace was held in Boston, in the old State House, on the 5th day of April, 1720, when Mr. Checkley appeared and received the sentence of the Court. We give a narrative of the proceedings as contained in the Court Records:—

“At a Court of General Sessions of the Peace begun & held at Boston for and within the County of Suffolk on the first Tuesday of April being the fifth day of the month Annoque Domini 1720.

“His Majestys Justices Present are as followeth viz.:

Penn Townsend	Edward Hutchinson
Edward Broomfield	Timothy Clark
John Clark	Daniel Oliver
Adam Winthrop	Anthony Stoddard
Josiah Willard	William Wolfwood
Thomas Palmer	William Hutchinson
Edward Lyde	Samuel Thaxter
Samuel Checkley	Nathaniel Hubbard
John Valentine	John Quincey
Samuel Lynde	Hebijah Savage

“John Checkley being bound by Recognizance to appear at this time to Answer to such matters and things as should be objected against him now especially for refusing to take the Oaths appointed instead of the oaths of allegiance & Supremacy &c and also for refusing to take the abjuration Oath as the same is called: all which are appointed to be taken by a late Law of this Province in that Case made and provided; He the said John Checkley appeared and being now Required by the Court to take the oaths above^d p^ussuant to the Law above^d Refused to take the same.

“ORDERED

“ORDERED that the f^d John Checkley shall pay a fine of Six pounds to His Majesty toward the support of the Government of this Province, And recognize to his Majesty in the sum of one hundred pounds with two Sureties in the Sum of fifty pounds each on Condition that the f^d John Checkley shall be of good behaviour towards his Majesty and all his good Subjects until Such time as he the f^d John Checkley shall take the f^d oaths. And also pay costs of prosecution standing committed until his Sentence be performed.” *Vide Records of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace* for April 5, 1720.

From this decision there was no appeal. Mr. Checkley paid the fine of six pounds imposed by the Court, and the costs of prosecution. He entered into bonds of one hundred pounds personally for his good conduct towards his Majesty and all his good Subjects, and Samuel Miller³³ of Milton, innholder, and John Gibbins³⁴ of Boston, apothecary, entered into bonds of fifty pounds each, until such time as he should take the oaths required. Mr. Checkley remained under these bonds until the 20th day of May, 1724, when, to remove what he called the “*scandalous* report of my being disaffected,” he took the oaths and received a certificate under the seal of the Province, which he forwarded through his Rector, the Rev. Samuel Myles, to the Rt. Rev. Edmund Gibson, D. D., the Bishop of London, to whose see all the English Colonies were attached.³⁵

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³³ Samuel Miller, innkeeper in Milton, *vide antea*, p. 12.

³⁴ John Gibbins was a prominent man in the Church of England in Boston at that time. On the 2d of September, 1722, he was appointed on a committee to receive subscriptions for the erection

of Christ Church. Subsequently, in 1728, he was one of the contractors for land on which to erect Trinity Church. *Vide History and Antiquities of Boston*, by Samuel G. Drake, pp. 567, 583.

³⁵ *Vide* Mr. Checkley's letter to Dr. Marshall, *postea*, Vol. II, pp. 161-66.

In 1721 the Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather published a book in London, entitled the "Christian Philosopher," in which he gave himself the title of "Fellow of the Royal Society." It seems to us at this time, and doubtless it did to many at that time, as a matter of very little importance whether Dr. Mather was, or was not, a Fellow of the Royal Society. But the honor was then rarely bestowed, and was greatly prized. Not more than three in New England had been accounted worthy of the great distinction. The announcement that Dr. Mather had been honored by membership in that society, by attaching the title in full to his name, was received with much surprize, and some doubted the validity of his claim. Mr. Checkley appears to have been among this number, and had probably expressed his opinion with his usual freedom. It became, therefore, a matter of personal interest to him to get at the truth, and to be certified whether he was in error or not. He accordingly wrote to Sir Francis Nicholson,⁸⁵ and subsequently to the Hon. Edmund Halley, LL.D., secretary of the society, to ascertain whether Dr. Mather was a member. No answer to this letter is in our possession, and perhaps none exists. But Dr. Mather says that Mr. Checkley wrote a letter full of "scandalous invectives" against him, "which was publicly read in the Royal Society." Dr. Mather's membership in the society

⁸⁵ Sir Francis Nicholson was at different times Governor of Virginia, Maryland, and of Nova Scotia, and Lieutenant-Governor of New York, and at this time was Governor of South Carolina. He was by profession a soldier, and subsequently was made a Lieu-

tenant-General in the English Army. He was a fast friend and patron of the Church of England. He was the founder of Trinity Church, Newport. *Vide Memoir of Trinity Church, Newport, in Updike's Narragansett Church, p. 392.*

society has been doubted, and has been discussed at different periods down to the present time. But recently this unimportant question has been apparently settled beyond further dispute. Dr. Cotton Mather, it seems, as early as 1713, sent a communication to the society, containing observations on "Natural Subjects," with a desire clearly expressed that he might be made a member. The Council of the Royal Society, accordingly, on the 27th day of July, 1713, by vote recommended him for membership. But his name not appearing on the list of members, in 1723 Dr. Mather wrote the following letter to James Jurin, M. D., the secretary of the society: —

"SIR: You are better known to me than I am to you; and I congratulate unto myself, as well as unto the world, the felicity of your succession in the office of *Secretary* to the *Royal Society*. But in order to a mutual better knowledge, I owe you, & must now give you, some very short account of myself; more particularly, with relation to that Illustrious Body, whereof I hoped, I had the Honour of being esteemed a Member. Having the pleasure of some correspondence with your excellent predecessor Mr. Waller, I did communicate unto him (and unto my valuable Dr. Woodward) a great number of American, and philosophical, curiosities; with an intimation of my purpose to continue the communications. Those gentlemen put the, as unexpected as undeserved, respect upon me, of proposing me for a Member of the *Royal Society*; and they both wrote unto me, that I was chosen accordingly both by the Council and Body of the Society, on the Anniversary Day for such election

in the year 1713. — Adding that the only Reason of my not having my name in the *printed* list of the *Society*, was because of my being beyond-Sea and yet a Natural Born Subject, & so not capable of being inserted among the gentlemen of other Nations.

“Your Secretary also, Dr. Halley in the *philosophical Transactions* of 1714 printed my name, with an F.R.S. annexed unto it. Mr. Petiver did the like, in his *Naturæ Collectanea*; and in his letters to me, he had these words, ‘Your election succeeded without opposition, and you were elected after the usual method of Balloting. The reason of your being out of the *printed list*, is your not being personally here, to subscribe to the orders that should be tendered you;’ to which he added congratulations & complements not proper to be by my pen transcribed.

“A Distinguished, & a diminutive crew of odd people here, when they could find no other darts to throw at me, imagined their not finding my name on the printed list of the *Royal Society*, would enable them to detect me of an imposture for affixing an F.R.S. unto my name, on some just occasions for it. And an infamous fellow, whose name is John Checkley, a forry *Toryman* (that yet had the impudence to write as a Divine) wrote a letter full of scandalous invectives against me, which was publickly read in the *Royal Society*. This wretched man, ambitious to do the part of a *Divine*, printed here some *Rapsodies*, to prove, *that the God whom K. William, and the christians of New England have worshipped*, is the D—l. A young and a bright kinsman of mine, bestowed such castigations on the Blasphemer that I became thereupon the object of his implacable revenge. But

of this matter, I gave Dr. Woodward a more full account, a year and a half ago: Which because I know not whether ever he received it, I now repeat a little of; Relying to your justice, if any further indignity of this Nature should be offered me. But, that I may not lay aside any of the meek, patient, humble disposition with which I should address you on this occasion, I shall keep such Terms, as I used unto my Doctor when he had what he required of me upon it.

“I should never have presumed upon affixing an F.R.S. unto my poor unworthy name, had I not thought, that my Honourable masters, would have taxed me as guilty of some ingratitude unto them for their unmerited favours, if I had always declined it.

“The many treatises (many more than three hundred) which Heaven has allowed & assisted me to publish (in the midst of many other constant & heavy labours) on various arguments, and in various Dead as well as Living Languages, added unto some other circumstances needless to be mentioned, had procured me from some European Universities, without my seeking in the least measure for them, the Testimonies of the highest respect that they could shew to the meanest of men, and among the rest a *Diploma* for the *Doctorate in Theology*. Upon this I was under some temptation unto the vanity of Thinking that it was possible the *Royal Society*, also might esteem it no disgrace, to permit my name among their members. Especially, when my remittances to their Treasury, might for number (however not for value) be æqual to what they might receive of some other members whose correspondence they cast a kind Aspect upon. For the embellishments wherewith I studied usually
(after

(after the manner of the German Ephemerides), to make my dry & dull stories a little more palatable to men of erudition, some of your own members, as well as Monsr Tournefort helped me to some apology.

“ But if after all, it be the pleasure of those Honourable persons, who compose or govern the *Royal Society*, that I should lay aside my pretensions to be at all related unto that illustrious Body, upon the least signification of it by your pen, it shall be dutifully complied withal. I will only continue to take the leave of still communicating Annually to you (as long as I live) what *Curiosa Americana* I can become the possessor of. For (my Jewish Rabbis having taught me, to *love the work*, and have *little regard unto the Rabbinate*) it is not the Title, but the service that is the Height, & indeed the whole, of my ambition.

“ As a Token of my purposes this way, and as an earnest of a much greater variety, which I propose to send you by another hand, about a Fortnight hence, I now present you with a tedious account of sentiments & occurrences relating to a subject, about which I perceive you are solicitous to have the exactest informations. At this time, I add no more, but with hearty prayers, to Heaven, that you may be continued long as a great Blessing to the world I subscribe

“ Syr

“ Your most affectionate

“ Friend and Servant

“ COTTON MATHER

“ BOSTON, N. ENGLAND

“ May 21, 1723.

“ Dr. Jurin.”

The original of the above letter is in the archives of the Royal Society, at Burlington House in London. It was copied under the direction of Mr. N. Darnell Davis, and the copy was afterwards carefully collated with the original. It was printed in the "Nation" of Feb. 18, 1892, and also, by permission, in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register" for April, 1892.

We give the following note by Mr. Davis, which accompanied its publication both in the Nation and in the Register :—

"In most biographical notices of Cotton Mather, that eminent man is said to have been a Fellow of the Royal Society. In some of such notices, the statement is emphasized by describing him as the first native-born American who attained to that honor. According to his son, there were many in New England who were 'so foolish as to doubt, nay, to deny, his right to that title.' Cotton Mather's name did not and does not appear in any list of the Fellows of the Society. Becoming himself uneasy upon the point, he inquired of the Secretary to the Royal Society whether he really was a Fellow. In reply, he was informed that he had been elected a Fellow both by the Council and by the general body of Fellows. That his name did not appear in the published list was due, he was told, to the fact that, being in America, he was unable to subscribe personally to the orders of the Society, from which foreigners were dispensed, but not British subjects. Years went by, and still Cotton Mather felt uncertain of his position. On May 21, 1723, he wrote the subjoined letter to Dr. Jurin, then Secretary of the Royal Society.

"The answer to the above letter should be interesting. There is, however, no record of it in the archives of the Royal Society. Under the circumstances, it will be well to inquire how far the proceedings of the Society established the fact of Cotton Mather's connection with it.

" For

“For the election of Fellows, the ordinary procedure observed by the Royal Society is this: The names are first submitted to the Council of the Society. After candidates have by the Council been chosen for submission at a general meeting of Fellows, their names are brought before such meeting. Here the election is made, and two-thirds of the votes are necessary to secure it.

“In the Journal of the Society there is the following entry, under date of July 23, 1713:—

“A letter drawn up by Mr. Waller for Mr. Cotton Mather at Boston in New England was read; giving an account of the receipt of his letter and his manuscript, containing his several observations on Natural subjects, with an invitation to a future correspondence; which was ordered to be sent.

“Mr. Waller proposed the same gentleman as a candidate, according to his desire mentioned in his said letter; which was referred to the next Council.’

“The Minutes of the Council of July 27, 1713, record that ‘Mr. Cotton Mather was proposed, balloted for, and approved to be a Member of the Society.’ A diligent search among the records of the Society has, however, failed to find that Cotton Mather’s name was ever submitted to the general body of Fellows. Would it be an undue surmise to suspect that Cotton Mather’s mistaken zeal in the witchcraft heresy stood in the way of his obtaining a two-thirds vote, and that, the Council finding this the case, did not risk a rejection?”

There appears to be no valid reason why Dr. Cotton Mather was not qualified to be a member of the Royal Society. His vast learning was universally admitted. His industry in issuing three hundred or more publications was unparalleled. That his general aim and purpose was to be useful in his office and vocation is the verdict of the majority of unprejudiced minds. But he was, it must be admitted, pedantic, pompous, supercilious. He was imprudent and
 hasty,

hafty, and used language unadvisedly. He calls Robert Calef, who was an honest opposer of the witchcraft furor, *Calf, a vile tool, malicious adversary*.⁸⁷ This language was indecorous and libellous. He became unpopular where he was best known. His "mistaken zeal in the witchcraft heresy" may, as Mr. Davis suggests, have stood in the way of his election by the fellows of the Royal Society. But in addition to this, his Sermon before the General Court in Boston in 1690 had been published, and was by no means flattering to the members of the Church of England. His open and violent hostility to that Church, and abusive language concerning it must have been known, and could not have gained for him many friends among the Fellows of the Royal Society, who were, we presume, mostly prominent members of the Church of England.

If his non-enrolment among the members had been an oversight, or an accident, his letter to Dr. Jurin was not likely to secure, if read to the Society, a correction of the error. The terms which he applies to Mr. Checkley, "*infamous*," "*blasphemer*," and "*Toryman*," were unfortunate, and the application of them was impolitic. Mr. Checkley was well and favorably known to prominent men in England, and such allegations, bad in spirit and worse in veracity, could only work harm to their author. If Mr. Checkley

was

⁸⁷ Vide *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, by John Langdon Sibley, Vol. III. p. 17. Robert Calef was a merchant of Boston, of excellent character and standing. He had the bravery to publish a book against witchcraft when the furor of persecution was at its height. It was

entitled *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, and was in answer to Cotton Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World*. It did much to change the public sentiment. It is said that Dr. Increase Mather, president of Harvard College, ordered Calef's book to be burned in the college yard.

was a *Toryman*, it is highly probable that a majority of the Fellows of the Royal Society were so likewise. This term, applied to a political party in England in *contempt*, was not adapted to secure for their author a favorable consideration.

The charge that Mr. Checkley "printed some Rapfodies, to prove, that the God whom K. William, and the christians of New England have worshipped, is the D—l," is a very grave one, and ought to rest on a solid foundation. The truth is, he printed an able metaphysical pamphlet against the Calvinism of the New England Divines. The name of King William is not mentioned, even by implication, in any part of the publication, nor does Mr. Checkley charge "the Christians of New England," or anybody else, with worshipping the Devil. The pamphlet states that the Lutherans charge the Calvinists with worshipping the Devil, and points out the logical process by which the Lutherans come to that conclusion. The exact language will be found in this volume, *vide postea*, p. 152. It is a simple recital of an historical fact, and leaves the inference to be drawn that the doctrine of the Calvinists may be liable to that interpretation. But Mr. Checkley's personal opinion or belief on this question is not given. Whether he can be called a blasphemer for printing an historical statement, and whether Dr. Cotton Mather's conscience was *active* and *true* when he made this extraordinary charge, the reader can judge. The most charitable interpretation appears to be that the charge was made in passion, and that his conscience had gone to sleep.³³

In

³³ Dr. Cotton Mather's name, not quoted in full in the preceding pages, withstanding his letter of May 21, 1723, has never to this day appeared on the

In 1722 Mr. Checkley made a voyage to England, failing from the port of Boston on the 21st of November of that year, in the ship *Barlow*. This expedition was, in part at least, commercial, as he shipped goods to London at the same time, but of what kind and to what extent we have no information. His stay in England was about eight months; returning, he arrived in Boston on the 20th day of September, 1723. Besides giving his attention to his commercial transactions, there are intimations that he took steps towards entering into Holy Orders. If such was the case, he was doubtless defeated by his inconsiderate and unwise refusal to take the oaths required by the statute in the Province of Massachusetts Bay. This refusal, founded simply in pride, and not in any conscientious objection to the oaths, left nevertheless the implication, at once logical and inexplicable, that he was indeed a Nonjuror. No more serious objection to a candidate for Holy Orders could have been offered to the Bishop of London, who had doubtless been promptly informed of his recusant proceedings in Boston touching the oaths.⁸⁹

A

the list of Fellows of the Royal Society.

The following is interesting as showing who, in New England, were the early members of that Society:—

“If Cotton Mather may not be reckoned a duly elected Fellow of the Royal Society, who then, of Americans born, is to be reckoned the earliest Fellow of that distinguished body? On the 11th of March, 1714, the Rev. Mr. William Brattle, minister of the Church at Cambridge, New England, was elected a Fellow by the general body of members. On November the 21st, ‘Sir Hans Sloane proposed Mr. Elihu Yale, Executor to Dr. Thomas Paget, as a

candidate, which was referred to the next Council.’ Yale was elected on the 30th of November, 1717, and Paul Dudley on the 2d of November, 1721. In a List of Fellows of the Royal Society, to be found among the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian (C. 437), the names of Brattle (1713-14), Yale (1717), and Dudley (1721) are given, but not the name of Cotton Mather.”

Vide Communication by Mr. N. Darnell Davis in the Nation of Feb. 18, 1892. Also New England Historical and Genealogical Register for April, 1892.

⁸⁹ The Rt. Rev. Edmund Gibson, D.D., who became Bishop of Lincoln in

A few months after Mr. Checkley returned to Boston,⁴⁰ he caused to be issued a pamphlet entitled "A MODEST PROOF of the *Order & Government* Settled by Christ and his Apostles in the CHURCH BY SHOWING

- I. What Sacred Offices were Instituted by them.
- II. How those Offices were Distinguished.
- III. That they were to be Perpetuated and Standing in the Church. And
- IV. Who Succeed in them, and rightly Execute them to this day.

Recommended as proper to be put into the hands of the Laity.

Boston: Reprinted by *Theo. Fleet*, and are to be sold by *Benjamin Eliot* in Boston, *Daniel Aurault* in Newport, *Gabriel Bernon* in Providence, *Mr Gallop* in Bristol, *Mr Jean* in Stratford, and in most other Towns within the Colonies of *Connecticut* and *Rhode Island*. 1723," pp. 63.

While the name of the author is not given on the title-page, it was ascribed without contradiction to Mr. Checkley. A wide circulation was immediately given to it both in town and

1715, was translated to London this very year, 1723. He was not likely, new as he was in his office, to favor any application for Holy Orders, if objections were made from any source whatever. Dr. Gibson was born in 1660, and died in 1748. He was a distinguished theologian and antiquary, and was the author of many valuable and learned works.

⁴⁰ In a letter to Dr. Marshall, which will be found in another part of this work, *vide* Vol. II. p. 162. Mr. Checkley says he arrived in Boston on the 20th of September, 1723. In a letter to the Secretary of the Society for the Propa-

gation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, *vide Historical Collections relating to the Colonial Church in Massachusetts*, p. 142, the Rev. Dr. Cutler says: "On September 24th past, Mr. Johnson and I arrived safely here, to the great joy of our Episcopal Brethren." As two vessels rarely sailed from London to Boston so nearly together as four days, it seems probable that there was some mistake in the date of their arrival as given by Mr. Checkley or Dr. Cutler, and we may well believe that they all returned in the same vessel.

and country. It caused a very perceptible stir in the ranks of the intelligent and learned of the Congregational order. It touched principles, practices, and interests too vital to be passed over in silence. It was important that an answer be made to it, which, in character and source, should command universal respect. After urgent and repeated requests, the Rev. Edward Wigglesworth,⁴¹ who a few months before had been publicly inducted into the office of Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard College, entered upon the task, and early in 1724 published an able, learned, and ingenious reply in a pamphlet of seventy-eight pages. It was entitled, "*Sober remarks ON A Book lately reprinted at Boston, entitled A MODEST PROOF Of the Order and Government Settled by CHRIST and his Apostles in the Church. In a Letter to a Friend.*"

Like Mr. Checkley's brochure, the name of the author is not given on the title-page, but we are not aware that its authorship has ever been doubted.

This was speedily followed by a pamphlet of forty-four pages by the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, Minister of the Gospel at Elizabeth-town, the first president of the College of New Jersey, and a distinguished and influential leader in the Presbyterian body.⁴² This contribution to the controversy

⁴¹ The Rev. Professor Wigglesworth was born in 1693, and died in 1765; graduated at Harvard College in 1710. He received the degree of Doctor in Divinity from the University of Edinburgh in 1730. He was the author of several theological papers, such as the *Duration of Future Punishment*, the *Imputation of Adam's Sin to his Posterity*, the *Doctrine of Reprobation*.

⁴² The Rev. Jonathan Dickinson was born in Hatfield, Massachusetts, April 22, 1688, and died Oct. 7, 1747. He published many discourses of a controversial and theological character, such as *Eternal Election*, *Original Sin*, *Saints' Perseverance*, &c. &c. He was the first President of the College of New Jersey, which was situated at that time at Elizabeth, New Jersey.

verfy was denominated "A DEFENCE OF *Presbyterian Ordination*, In ANSWER to a Pamphlet entitled, A MODEST PROOF OF THE Order and Government Settled by Chrift in the CHURCH."

These criticifms were feverally answered by Mr. Checkley, as we fhall fee in the fequel.

While the clergy of the Church of England, as well as thofe of other names, and many of the intelligent laymen, were entertained, and perhaps fomewhat enlightened, by this fkirmifh of the pamphleteers, a heavier ordnance was difcharged in Boston, whofe refonant vibrations extended far beyond the limits of New England, and created an alarm and indignation among the minifters of Maffachufetts Bay before unknown. This alarm was caufed by the publication of a book which they regarded as a virulent and libellous attack upon the divine authority and validity of their miniftry.

The hiftory of this publication is both interefting and important. When Mr. Checkley was in England, he purchafed of a gentleman who had the privilege of printing the works of the Rev. Charles Leffie⁴³ the liberty of ufing fuch of Leffie's publications as he needed in the compilation of a
book

⁴³ Charles Leffie was born about 1650, and died in 1722. He was the fon of the Rt. Rev. John Leffie, Bifhop of Clogher, and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. He was admitted to Holy Orders in 1680. He was a Non-juror, a man of great learning, and the moft diftinguifhed controversial writer of his times. He wrote againft the Deifts, the Jews, the Presbyterians, Papifts, Quakers, and others. He alfo wrote upon many political queftions.

Dibden fays: "No fingle theological work has perhaps received fo much applaufe as his *Short and Eafy Method with the Deifts*." It has been a textbook for theological ftudents down to the prefent time. Dr. Johnson fays "Leffie was a reafoner, and a reafoner who was not to be reafoned againft." Vide *Boswell's Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* Bolton, 1807, Vol. III. p. 379, n.

book, which he caused to be printed in London and brought with him to Boston, where he arrived on the 20th day of September, 1723, and put upon sale on the 27th of February following. The book consists of 132 pages. Its title is, "A Short and Easie METHOD WITH THE DEISTS. Wherein the CERTAINTY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION Is demonitratd, by infallible *Proof* from FOUR RULES, WHICH ARE *Incompatible* to any *Imposture* that ever yet has been, or that can *possibly* be. In a LETTER to a Friend. The *Eight Edition*. LONDON; Printed by J. APPLEBEE, and Sold by JOHN CHECKLEY, at the Sign of the *Crown* and *Blue-Gate*, over-against the West-End of the Town-House in *Boston*. 1723."

For the publication of this book, Mr. Checkley was prosecuted and fined, as we shall see in the sequel. The work bearing the above-named title was a compilation from several works published in England. Let us examine it with some care, and see if we can ascertain who were the authors of the several parts.

Mr. Leslie's argument against the deists covers forty pages, and is a verbatim reprint from his works published in folio in London in the year 1721. Then follows "A Discourse concerning EPISCOPACY." Fifty-six pages, from the forty-first to the ninety-seventh, with some emendations and omissions, are taken, with the exceptions hereafter noted, from a small quarto pamphlet by Leslie, now lying before me, published in London in 1698, entitled "A DISCOURSE SHOWING Who they are that are now Qualify'd to Administer *Baptism* and the *Lords-Supper*, Wherein the Cause of EPISCOPACY Is briefly Treated."

Of these fifty-six pages, nine are not in Leslie's pamphlet, and are clearly the composition of Mr. Checkley. The remainder of the book, from page ninety-seven to the end, is taken from a small pamphlet, of which the author's name is not given, but which nevertheless is recommended and prefaced by the distinguished and learned Robert Nelson,⁴⁴ whose writings are still classics both in England and America.

This volume, thus compiled, treating of Episcopacy in the most ample, thorough, and exhaustive manner, especially adapted to the meridian of Boston, was the theme of conversation by the citizens in the street, in the traders' shops, and in social gatherings. The ministers were soon assembled in solemn conclave. The weak points and the strong points of the book were canvassed. It is easy to fancy how, in the sympathetic heat of discussion, fallacies, assumptions, bad logic, and bad rhetoric were discovered on nearly every page of the unwelcome book; nor is it difficult to picture the indignation, not unmingled with alarm, that mantled in black clouds the otherwise placid countenances of that little band of learned men. Their discussions were amicable, and in their opinions there were no essential disagreements. The unanimous conclusion was easily reached that the book was

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⁴⁴ Robert Nelson was born in 1656, and died in 1715. He was the author of a *Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England*, *The Practice of True Devotion*, and the *Life of Bishop George Bull*. Dr. Samuel Johnson says: "The holidays observed by our church are of great use in religion. There can be no doubt of this, in a limited sense, I mean if the

number of such consecrated portions of time be not too extensive. The excellent Mr. Nelson's *Festivals and Fasts*, which has, I understand, the greatest sale of any book ever printed in England, except the Bible, is a most valuable help to devotion." *Vide Boswell's Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* Boston, 1807, Vol. II. p. 263.

a detestable libel, and that the vender was an equally detestable libeller, and that a public odium ought to be put upon the one, and a speedy punishment visited upon the other. The law alone furnished the proper remedy for such misdemeanors.

Three weeks had not elapsed after the book was put on sale, before the first step was taken to call Mr. Checkley to account by a legal tribunal. The Council Records give the following narrative of the proceedings:—

“At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston upon Thursday, March 19, 1723.⁴⁵

Present The Hon W^m Dummer Esq^r L^t Gov^r

Samuel Sewall	Edw ^d Bromfield	Adam Winthrop
Penn Townsend, Esqrs	Thomas Hutchinson	Jon ^s Belcher
	Thomas Fitch Esq ^r	Jon ^s Dowse Esq ^r

The Board taking into their consideration a certain Book lately Published & Sold in Boston, entitled, a short and easy method with the Deists, and observing in the said volume many vile & Scandalous

⁴⁵ The number of Councillors named in the Charter of 1692 was twenty-eight. That was the number elected subsequently. Of these, nine, including the Lieutenant-Governor, were present. The Hon. Samuel Sewall was a member of the Council from 1693 to 1725; Penn Townsend, from 1703 to 1727, except the years 1708 and 1715; Edward Bromfield, 1703 to 1724. Thomas Hutchinson, the father of Governor Hutchinson, was Councillor 1714 to 1739, except 1724 and 1727; Thomas Fitch, 1715 to 1730 and 1734; Adam Winthrop, 1715 to 1728, except 1719, 1720, 1727; Jonathan Belcher, 1718 to 1727, except 1721, 1724, 1725; Jonathan Dowse, 1718 to 1731, except 1727.

Vide Massachusetts Civil List, by William H. Whitmore, 1870.

Subsequently to this trial, Governor Belcher, while he was Governor of Massachusetts Bay, addressed letters, from which the following are extracts, to his son, Jonathan Belcher, Jr., who graduated at Harvard College in 1728, and was, at the time the letters were written, pursuing his studies at the Temple in London. He had connected himself with the Church of England, which gave his father great displeasure. Whoever reads the *Belcher Papers*, lately published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, will see that the Governor did not hide his religion under a bushel, but kept it generally blazing on

ous passages not only reflecting on the ministers of the Gospel Established in this Province & denying their sacred function & the Holy ordinances of religion as administered by them but also sundry vile insinuations against his Majesty's rightful & Lawful authority & the constitution of the Gov^t of Great Britain —

Voted that the Attorney General be directed to draw up a presentment of the S^d Book as a scandalous libel, & also a presentment of the Author or Publisher thereof, when he shall be known, that so a Prosecution be had thereon at the next general sessions of the peace for the county of Suffolk & that Rob^t Auchmuty, Esq^r:⁴⁶ be

a candlestick. In one of his letters he says: —

"As you grow older I hope you'll grow wiser. The dissenters are certainly men of better lives in general than those of the National Chh. I remember a gingle of the late Dr. Cotton Mather which pleas'd me as I thought it true, *that the religion of the Chh of England was a lifeless religion & an irreligious life*; and I hope you speak with pleasure of returning to your first love. . . .

"Here I can't help mentioning with the greatest concern & affection to you your conformity to the Ch^h of England; & with a previous slip to me in so considerable an alteration, it was the greatest folly you could be guilty of, & could I have imagin'd it you had never set your feet off your native country. It has vastly hurt you in your temporal interest (I wish it ha' n't otherwise); it has made all the Dissenting interest *cool* towards you in Eng^d & here, & in that way it has also greatly differ'd me, and your hugging Checkley in the manner you did was a piece of most imprud^t conduct, — a man that had been a non-juror here for a long time & odious to this whole country. Oh, Jon^s learn to be thoughtful, cautious & wise; but these things grieve me & I must not dwell upon them. I rejoice that you begin to see your folly & that you think as formerly that the Dissenters are the best livers. What will it avail a man in the great day of accounts to have had the form of godliness without the power? and as to doctrine, I know not

wherein the Dissenters & Chh differ, if the latter will stick to their 39 Articles. I shall say no more on this head, but commend you to ye guidance & teaching of God."

"I have spoken so fully about your foolish conformity that I add no more upon it, but that I think you will be wise to come off from it gradually with as much honour as you can." *Vide Massachusetts Historical Collections*, Vol. LXVII. pp. 214, 292, 326; also *antea*, p. 30.

Jonathan Belcher, Jr. did not follow his father's advice. Notwithstanding his pathetic and tender appeal, he still adhered to the Church of England. He became Governor of the Province of Nova Scotia, and subsequently Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of that Province.

⁴⁶ Robert Auchmuty, a distinguished lawyer, was educated at Dublin, and studied law at the Temple, in London. He settled in Boston early in the 18th century. He was a prominent member of King's Chapel, and a Trustee of the Boston Episcopal Charitable Society at its organization in 1724. His only daughter married Benjamin Pratt, Chief-Justice of New York. His son, the Rev. Samuel Auchmuty, D. D., graduated at Harvard College, 1742. He was a minister of Trinity Church, in the city of New York. His son Robert was a distinguished

be desired to assist in the S^d Prosecution & in case of the absence of the Attorney General,⁴⁷ to draw up the Said Presentments.

Examined by J. WILLARD. Sec^r”

It will be observed that the Chief-Justice of the Court of Sessions, the Hon. Penn Townsend, and the Chief-Justice of the Superior Court of Judicature and Assize, the Hon. Samuel Sewall, were members of the Council, and were complainants, or plaintiffs in a certain sense, in the suit against Mr. Checkley, which was to be tried in the courts over which they respectively presided. This double relation of two of the judges in the case would, at the present day, be regarded as highly improper, and we imagine few magistrates would now choose to go into history as acting in both capacities in the same case.

On hearing that the Council had ordered a presentment against the book, Mr. Checkley went to the Advocate-General and informed him that he had brought the books
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distinguished lawyer and advocate in Boston, and was counsel for Preston and the British soldiers engaged in the Boston Massacre. Whether Robert Auchmuty, senior, actually took any part in the trial of Mr. Checkley does not further appear from the court proceedings. It is, however, more than probable that he drew up the presentment, and acted as the prosecuting attorney.

⁴⁷ The Attorney-General at this time was John Read, who had been elected, June 25, 1723, and was duly qualified by taking the prescribed oaths. The intimation of the possible absence of the Attorney-General, and the statement of Mr. Checkley in his private letter to Dr. Marshal, on the 19th of the June following, that he was in fact absent, renders

it pretty certain that the presentment was drawn up by Robert Auchmuty, Esqr., perhaps assisted by Mr. Hews, who had been Mr. Checkley's counsel, but had been appointed to supply the place of the King's Attorney. *Vide* Mr. Checkley's letter to Dr. Marshal, *postea*, Vol. II. p. 164, also note 46.

Mr. Read was elected Attorney-General in June, 1724, but he does not appear to have taken the oaths, or to have acted as such for that year. *Vide* note 5. p. 3, also note 60. *postea*.

The reader will observe that the date of this instrument, March 10, 1723, fell into the year 1724, as the civil year then began on the 25th of March, and not on January first.

in question from England, and was the feller of them. This information to the Advocate-General obliged him to present Mr. Checkley as the feller of the book; the case being personal, nothing could be done without his presence in court, thus affording him an opportunity of defending the book, which he otherwise could not have had.

The Court of Sessions was to be held on the first day of April, and Mr. Checkley could only appeal to the Court of Assize, which was to be held in May. He deemed it exceedingly important that he should have more time, that he might, if possible, obtain some order from England that should put a stop to the proceedings. By avoiding these two courts, his first trial by the Court of Sessions would take place in July, and his second trial, by appeal to the Court of Assize, would fall in November. Accordingly, on the 30th day of March, no warrant having been served upon him, he left Boston, and proceeding beyond the limits of the Province, passed several weeks in Rhode Island and Connecticut.⁴⁸ At length, the time having elapsed for his arraignment before the court sitting on the first of April, on the 16th of May he returned to Boston, and on the 20th of the same month he appeared before Chief-Justice Townshend, and took the oaths, which he had before declined to take, and sent a certificate of the same, under the seal of the Province, to the Bishop of London.

During his absence from the Province and after his return, he wrote numerous letters to gentlemen of his acquaintance in England, soliciting such aid as might relieve him

⁴⁸ Mr. Checkley appears at this time to have visited the Indians in Connecticut. cut along the banks of the Quinnebaug River.

him from the criminal proceedings already in progress against him. He was doubtless induced to seek for this assistance by over sanguine friends, and as a *dernier ressort*, although no practical method of relief was probably either suggested or known. For friends in England to interfere in any way, at that distance, and in so short a space of time, was plainly a difficult, if not an impossible, task. What efforts were made in his behalf we are not informed. But we know very certainly, if any were made, they were unsuccessful.⁴⁹

Two days after Mr. Checkley's return to Boston, on the 18th day of May, the Grand Inquest for the County of Suffolk having found a bill against him, a Bench warrant for his appearance at the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, to be holden in Boston on the first Wednesday of July, was issued against him, to answer to a presentment for falsely, wickedly, maliciously, seditiously, causing to be published, uttered, and exposed to sale, a feigned, false, wicked, and scandalous libel entitled a "Short and Easy Method with the Deists," &c.

This warrant was served upon Mr. Checkley by John Darrell, on the first day of June, 1724, and he gave bail to appear under a bond of £100, entered into by himself and Dr. George Stewart.⁵⁰

But while these proceedings against Mr. Checkley were in progress, he was himself by no means idle. At this very time

⁴⁹ *Vide* Mr. Checkley's letter in this work, Vol. II. pp. 158-9.

⁵⁰ Dr. George Stewart was an active and prominent member of King's Chapel, and a contributor for the main-

tenance of the organ introduced into the chapel in 1713. It was the first used in public worship in New England. He was warden in 1732-34, and a member of the vestry subsequently.

time he was writing a pamphlet entitled, "A Discourse showing who is a true Pastor of the Church of Christ." It was largely a criticism and answer to the celebrated discourse of the learned Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton of the Old South Church in Boston, on the "validity of Presbyterial Ordination," published some years anterior to this. Mr. Checkley's pamphlet was printed during his first trial; in July, 1724, and was done secretly lest it should be made a handle for the forfeiture of his bonds. It is hardly probable that any copies were distributed in Boston at that time. It was a clear, concise, logical production, adapted to the comprehension of plain people, for whom it was especially intended. Five hundred copies were immediately sent into Rhode Island, where the Quakers and Baptists were in the heat of a lively controversy touching their respective theories and beliefs. Mr. Checkley had the satisfaction of believing that it proved an antidote to their troubles, and pointed out, to some of them at least, a better way.

At the end of the publication above referred to, was this significant note: "Those who have a Mind to see the Propositions in this small Tract prov'd beyond the Possibility of a Reply, are desir'd to read a Discourse concerning Episcopacy, which they may have at the *Crown and Gate* opposite to the West End of the Town-House in *Boston*."

This "Discourse concerning Episcopacy" which Mr. Checkley was thus advertising was the *addendum* to the "Short and Easy Method with the Deists," and was the identical publication for the sale of which he was at that time undergoing a trial for libel. It is obvious therefore from this advertisement that he did not intend, whatever
punishment

punishment might be in store for him, to desist from making known far and wide what he honestly believed to be true and agreeable to the constitution of the Apostolic Church. At the end of the pamphlet he appended, for the instruction of such as were not familiar with the testimony of the early Fathers to Episcopacy, the "Epistle of S^t Ignatius to the Trallians."

The Court of Sessions was duly held in July, and Mr. Checkley's trial began on the 14th day of that month.

The presentment contained sixteen counts, citing the exact words in the book which the Council and the Grand Jury had pronounced libellous, and by which it was intended to prove that Mr. Checkley was a libeller. For the satisfaction of the inquisitive reader we give the specifications in full and in order, premising that each citation is prefaced by several of the following epithets, viz.: false, feigned, malicious, wicked, scandalous, and seditious.

The following are the citations from the book already adjudged to be libellous by the Chief-Justices of the two courts respectively before which Mr. Checkley was to be tried:—

I. "And when the Time shall Come, as they are the most *Honourable* and *Ancient* of all the *Nations* on the *Earth*, so will their *Church* Return to the *Mother Christian Church*, as she was at First; And *Rome* must Surrender to *Jerusalem*."

II. "WITH the Deists, in this Cause, are join'd the *Quakers* and other of *Dissenters* who throw off the *Succession* of our Priesthood."

III. "I shall say something at this time by way of Advice to *those Persons*, who madly think that there is nothing at all necessary to constitute a *Gospel Minister*, but (what they fondly call) a *good stock of Gifts*. To these mad *Enthusiasts*, these heady *Imposers*, whose pretended

pretended *Gifts* are in nothing *extraordinary*, except in a furious *Zeal* without *Knowledge*, and a *Volubility* of *Tongue*, which proceeds from a *Habit* of *Speaking* without *Thinking*; and an *Affurance* that is never out of *Countenance*; for ten Thousand *Blunders*, which wou'd *dash* and *confound* any Man of *Sense*, or *Modesty*, or that consider'd the *presence* of *God*, in which he spoke: To these Men I say I shall speak something concerning the Qualifications requisite in a *Gospel Minister*."

IV. "And consequently, that the *Rebellion* of *Presbyters* from under the Government of their *Bishops*, is the same Case as the *Rebellion* (for so it is call'd, Numb. xvii. 10) of *Korah* and his *Levites*, against *Aaron*."

V. "And here let our *Korahites*, of several Sizes, take a view of the Heinousness of their *Schism*."

VI. "And indeed, whoever wou'd write the true History of Presbyterianism, must begin at *Rome*, and not at *Geneva*."

VII. "As the Necessity of *Government*, and the General commands in *Scripture*, of *Obedience* to *Government* do require our Submission to the *Government* in *being*, where there is no *Competition* concerning the *Titles*, that is where no One claims a better *Right* than the *Possessor*."

VIII. "Against these we produce the vast Empire of *Russia* (which is greater in extent, than all those *popish* Countries before named) *Great-Britain*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and all the *Lutheran* Churches in *Germany*, which will vastly out-number both the *Papists* and (their kinsmen) the *Dissenters* of all *Denominations* before mention'd."

IX. "They imitate the coming of *Anti-Christ* now approaching."

X. "And now, let me tell our *Dissenters* of all *Denominations*, that they imitate the *Hardness* of the *Foes*, who built the *Sepulchers* of those *Prophets*, whom their *Fathers* slew; while, at the same *Time*, they adher'd to, and out-did the *Wickedness* of their *Fathers*, in *Persecuting* the *Successors* of those *Prophets*."

XI. "And if so, then their *Ordinations* in *Opposition* to *Episcopacy* are

are not only *invalid* but *Sacrilege*, and *Rebellion* against *Christ* who did *institute* this *Society*, and gave them their *Charter*, and if their *Ordinations* are null, then their *Baptisms* are so too, and all their *Ordinances*. They are out of the *visible Church*, and have no *Right* to any of the *Promises* in the *Gospel*."

XII. "Let then the *Common-wealth-men* and the *Orators* for the *Power* of the *People*, (if they will argue fairly and upon the *Square* with us) set down the *Time* when *Monarchy* did *begin* in the *World*, and see if this *Clew* will not lead them up to the *Division* of the *Nations* after the *Flood*, which I am sure no *Man* (who has seen that *Account* which *holy Scripture* gives us of it) will venture to say, was done by the *People*."

XIII. "What think ye my *Friends*? Was there ever a *Time* in the *World* when all *Mankind* (all but the *Usurpers*!) were all a-sleep?"

XIV. "Shall then the *Usurpers* of the *Levitical Priesthood* be *swallow'd* up *quick* into the *Pit*, and is there no *Judgment* of *God* due to the *Usurpers* upon the *Christian Priesthood*? Was it *Death* for any but the *Priests* to offer the *legal Sacrifices*, and may the *Evangelical Sacrifice* be offer'd, without *Offence*, by any *Hands* not *lawfully ordain'd*?"

XV. "Can their *Call*, or their *Conceits* of any *Man's Sufficiency* enable him to take this *Honour* unto himself? Is this the *Call* of *Aaron* and of *Christ*? No; but it is of *Korah* and our *Dissenters* who set up upon their *Gifts*!"

XVI. "The *Children* of *Korah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram* were *swallowed* up with *Them*."

The words contained in these citations are declared by the indictment to be a false, feigned, malicious, scandalous, and seditious libel.

By a careful collation we find the first two counts to be in Leslie's "Short and Easy Method with the Deists." This work

work was published in London in 1694, and it had been before the British public thirty years, during which period its libellous character had not been discovered.

The third count in the declaration is partly in the words of Mr. Checkley himself, and partly in those of Leslie. This is the only count in which any of Mr. Checkley's own words are cited.

From the fourth count to the tenth inclusive all are found in a "Discourse wherein Episcopacy is briefly treated," by the Rev. Charles Leslie, published by him, in London, in 1698.

The remaining six counts are in that part of the publication which Mr. Checkley informs us he "took entirely from a pamphlet prefaced and recommended by that great man, Mr. Nelson."

This refers to the distinguished Robert Nelson, Esq., whose works still hold a prominent place in sacred literature both among churchmen and dissenters. With two slight variations, not affecting the animus of the citations, the counts containing the charges against Mr. Checkley are all taken from works written and published in England many years before, except one among the fifteen, which is partly in the words of Mr. Checkley, as we have already stated.

We can hardly avoid asking ourselves how, during all these years, the libellous character of these publications escaped the notice of the English Dissenters, to whom they were first addressed, and for whose illumination they were written.

The Court of Sessions was composed of justices of the peace. Those present at this time were Penn Townsend, Chief-Justice, together with Edward Bromfield, Samuel Checkley, William Welsted, Thomas Steel, John Ruck, and John Campbell.⁵¹

Of the details of the proceedings at this trial we know little. Who the counsel were on either side, or the names of the jury, no record discloses. Mr. Checkley informs us that he was not allowed to speak in his own defence, and that the justices ordered the prosecuting attorney to insist upon those clauses only which charged him with disaffection to the government, and that they presumably intended to amend the presentment, but the verdict, as recorded in the court records, is general, and, in form at least, covers the whole indictment.⁵²

A verdict against Mr. Checkley was promptly rendered. He appealed, and entered into bonds, as principal, in the sum of £100, and Gillam Phillips,⁵³ Esq., and William Speakman,⁵⁴ both of Boston, in the sum of £50 each, for his appearance at the Court of Assize, to be held in the November following.

Mr.

⁵¹ Edward Bromfield was a Councillor, *vide antea*, p. 55, and was, with Chief-Justice Townsend, a complainant as well as judge in the case *Dominus Rex versus Checkley*. No relationship has been traced between the Rev. John Checkley and the other Checkleys of Boston who were prominent in both civil and ecclesiastical affairs.

⁵² It is clear that John Read was Mr. Checkley's counsel at this trial. He was Attorney-General for 1723, but his term had expired in June, 1724, and this

court was held in July following. He was an intimate friend of Mr. Checkley.

⁵³ Gillam Phillips was a prominent citizen of Boston. He purchased a pew in Christ Church among the original proprietors, and was a vestryman and warden of that church.

⁵⁴ William Speakman was some time a member of the vestry of King's Chapel and a warden in 1729. He was one of the early contributors for the erection of Trinity Church, Boston, and its first warden.

Mr. Checkley now devoted himself with great assiduity to a careful study of the legal aspects of his case, soon to be decided by the highest tribunal in the Province of Massachusetts Bay. This was not a period of unbroken peace and serenity of mind. It brought with it many deep and painful anxieties. The expense of a trial in all the courts, in which the verdict was practically preordained to be against him, with the branded stigma of a heavy fine, and perhaps imprisonment, with a dependent family and a limited fortune, imposed a painful mental burden, which he alone could appreciate. Nevertheless, his most poignant sufferings came from a deep, tender, manly sympathy for his distressed wife, who, in his own language, was "almost frightened to death by their proceedings."⁵⁵ But for himself, independent of others, he had neither fears nor regrets. To his mind, the truth, as he comprehended it, must be made known plainly and fully, at whatever personal inconvenience or personal sacrifice. A conscious "innocence and honesty" he regarded as his proper "shield and buckler."

The animus which controlled him in the publication of the "scandalous" book, may be seen in the publication itself, on its ninety-sixth page, as follows:—

"I make no Question, but by this Time, I have made myself many Enemies by talking thus freely against the *Dissenters*. But if I have, all that I can say is, that I wou'd willingly displease no Man, but live at Peace with all the World. God knows my Heart, I hate no Man's Person, but would do him all the Good that is in my Power. But if I cannot do him that Good without displeasing him,

I

⁵⁵ *Vile* Mr. Checkley's letter to Dr. Bennet, Vol. II. p. 168.

I ought to prefer his Good to the disturbing him a little ; else I do not really love him. And if he takes Offence at me for this, it is his Fault, not mine.

“And truly, as to our *dissenting Brethren* upon the *Point of Religion*, I look upon their Case with the greatest *Compassion* and *Concern* that is possible for the sake of their *Souls*, which to me they seem to hazard upon the greatest *Uncertainty*, and the most *causeless* of any on *Earth*.”

The tardy weeks of the summer and early autumn passed reluctantly away. But the calends of November came at last. On the 3d of the month, Anno Domini 1724, in the Council Chamber of the Old State House, familiar to all Bostonians, and within speaking distance of Mr. Checkley's own residence, the Superior Court of Judicature and Assize opened its session.

The judges, the jury, and the attorneys were all in their places.

A slight draft on the imagination will furnish a vivid picture of this court-room as it appeared on that crispy autumnal morning. A few fagots of hickory were blazing on the ample hearth. The arms of the House of Hanover, and portraits of the royal family of England were looking down from the walls of the spacious room, to give dignity and authority to the proceedings of the highest legal tribunal in the Province of Massachusetts Bay. At one side, on a dais slightly raised, sat Chief-Justice Sewall, in his judicial robes and bands, his natural hair white with the frosts of seventy-two winters, flowing in rich abundance upon his shoulders. On either side were the associate justices, Benjamin

min Lynde,⁵⁶ Addington Davenport,⁵⁷ Paul Dudley,⁵⁸ and Edmund Quincy,⁵⁹ all in their official robes, bands, and wigs. Around a spacious table, near the centre of the room, were the attorneys in their citizen's dress. Among them was Robert Auchmuty, acting in place of the Attorney-General, by appointment of the Council, and not far removed was the distinguished John Read, already the corypheus of the Boston bar, and near him his client, Mr. John Checkley, charged

⁵⁶ Benjamin Lynde, born Sept. 22, 1666, died March 28, 1745, graduated at Harvard College, 1686. He was educated in the law at the Temple in London. He was Judge of the Superior Court of Judicature, 1712, and subsequently became Chief-Justice of the same court. For some account of Chief-Justice Sewall, *vide* Sewall's Journal as quoted in the previous pages, as likewise note 32.

⁵⁷ Addington Davenport, born Aug. 3, 1670, died April 2, 1736, graduated at Harvard College in 1689. After holding many civil offices, he was a Judge of the Superior Court of Judicature from 1715 to his death in 1736. His son, the Rev. Addington Davenport, was the first rector of Trinity Church, Boston.

⁵⁸ Paul Dudley, son of Governor Joseph Dudley, born Sept. 3, 1675, died Jan. 25, 1752, graduated at Harvard College, 1690. He was educated in the law at the Temple in London. He was Attorney-General for many years. He became a Judge of the Superior Court of Judicature in 1718, of which court he was subsequently Chief-Justice. *Vide antea*, note 27.

⁵⁹ Edmund Quincy was born Oct. 24, 1681, died 1738, graduated at Harvard College, 1699. He was a Judge of the Superior Court of Judicature from 1718

to 1736 inclusive. His regard for the Church of England may be seen from the following excerpt: "When in August, 1704, the increase of the Rev. Mr. Pitke's salary from £80 to £90 was the burning question in Braintree, Judge Edmund Quincy urged as an argument in favor of the increase that the Church of England people would have to pay their proportion, calling Samuel French out of Captain John Mill's house, and saying to him — 'You know what has fell out in the town, the churchmen are now scheming to get a foot in the town; if you will join with us in a vote, we'll suppress the churchmen; I have got sixteen already.'" *Vide Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, by Charles Francis Adams, p. 627. It is to be observed that when Judge Edmund Quincy with his sixteen neighbors was laying plans to *suppress* the churchmen in the Church of England parish in Braintree, now Quincy, he was only twenty-four years of age, and his zeal may have been more active and vigorous than at this time, when, at the age of forty-three, he was sitting as judge on the conduct of a churchman who was by no means easily suppressed. There is, however, scanty evidence that the spirit of toleration had gained any perceptible strength during those years.

charged with the crime of publishing an alleged libellous book, a man small in stature, with a high intellectual forehead, a clear eye, and an expression of countenance indicating intellectual force, strength of will, frankness, honesty, and sincerity. In their proper place sat the impanelled jury, twelve men of undoubted honesty and sagacity, viz., Samuel Appleton, John Wifwell, Noah Kingsbury, Joshua Child, Benjamin Ruffell, Joseph Wells, Edward Langdon, Ezra Clafs, Seth Bafs, John Cobet, Joseph Mansfield, and Thomas Verien.

Besides these there were present in an unofficial way, we may well believe, the ministers both of the Church of England and of the Dissenters, and other gentlemen drawn thither by their interest in this extraordinary trial. The chief interest centred in the arguments of the learned, able, and distinguished counsel on both sides.

After the usual formalities, the administration of the oath to the jurors, the reading of the indictment, the trial was opened by the attorney for the government.⁶⁹ Mr. Checkley having

⁶⁹ The court records do not state who the counsel were who presented the case of the government, or who defended Mr. Checkley. It is, however, very clear that the counsel for the government was Robert Auchmuty. We learn, from evidence derived from other sources, that Mr. Checkley's counsel in this trial in the Superior Court of Judicature, was the celebrated jurist John Read. The argument in arrest of judgment, made at a later stage by Mr. Read, was written out in his own hand and signed by him, and is still preserved in the files of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. This argument, as well as that of Mr.

Checkley, may be found in another part of this work.

It appears by the record that John Read was elected Attorney-General by the House in June, 1724. *Vide Records of the General Court*, Book II. p. 509. It was at first no little surprize that we found him acting as counsel for Mr. Checkley, who was on trial upon a criminal charge. It appears, however, after very careful and extended examination of both the Court and Council records, that he did not qualify by taking the oaths of office for the year 1724, and the reason was that the election was illegal. It was necessary that the nomination

having admitted that he was the publisher of the book, it was only necessary to show that it contained the libel charged in the indictment. The arguments of the counsel for the prosecution and those by the counsel for the defence are unfortunately not preserved. After Mr. Read, the counsel for the defence, had been heard, whose treatment of the case was highly satisfactory to his client, Mr. Checkley was himself permitted to address the court in his own behalf. His argument was subsequently published, and will be found in another part of this work. As the lower court had virtually, as he thought, acquitted him of the charge of scandalizing the dissenting clergy, Mr. Checkley devoted two thirds of his argument to the charge of attempting to "tra-duce and to draw into dispute the undoubted Right and Title of King George to the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the territories thereunto belonging." On this part of the indictment Mr. Checkley was fully acquitted by the jury. The remaining part of his argument was to prove his innocence of scandalizing the ministers of the Congregational order.

It will not be necessary here to enter into any analysis of this extraordinary forensic effort, which the reader may examine in another part of this work. He does not aim at
touching

nomination of the Attorney-General should be made by the Lieutenant-Governor. This nomination was his prerogative. But in this instance it had been omitted, probably because the election had taken place without waiting for this formality. The Lieutenant-Governor could not have assented to such an election without serious prejudice to his prerogative. This he appears to have

declined to do. Mr. Read was not therefore Attorney-General for the year 1724, when this court was held, and was therefore quite at liberty to act as counsel for Mr. Checkley in this case. *Vide* the interesting and valuable communication of Mr. A. C. Goodell, Jr., on this subject, in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. X. 2d Series, p. 287.

touching the sympathies either of the jury or the court, but evidently desires to stand or fall by what seems to him unchanging and irrefutable truth. Rich in all necessary learning, clear and logical in statement, dignified in method and style, he deals simply with principles and facts. It would be interesting to know how the opposing counsel could either discard his principles, or deny his facts.

The trial was conducted with dignity and propriety, and in these respects was satisfactory to Mr. Checkley. He concluded his argument in the following courteous peroration : —

“ May it please your Honours :

I shall now conclude, only beg leave to render Thanks for the liberty granted to me, (*which was deny'd me at the Sessions*) of making so particular a Defence ; and if in the Prosecution of it, I have said any Thing ungrateful to your Honours, I am sure you will forgive me, when you consider, that the nature of the Charge against me obliged me to such a manner of Defence.

Wherefore without any farther Apology, I shall submit it to your Honours, and to you Gentlemen of the Jury, with all *that* Humility that becomes a Christian. Hoping, nay, being well assured, that you will not find *me guilty*, nor *this Book* a Libel.”

It is obvious that the argument of Mr. Checkley and that of his counsel made a profound impression on the minds of the jury. Their discussions must have been interesting. They plainly were not convinced that the book was a libel. Consequently they were not prepared to say under oath that Mr. Checkley was guilty. In this state of mind they naturally desired to escape that responsibility. This they could do by returning a special verdict. By this course they would
likewise

likewise escape the inevitable denunciations and reproaches of the Puritan ministers and their friends and neighbors. It was not unnatural, under the circumstances, that the jury should be glad to cast the burden from their own shoulders, and place it upon the shoulders of the judges.

They accordingly returned the following special verdict :

John Checkley
adfect'
Dom. Reg.

“ The Jury find specially ; viz. If the Book entituled, A Short and Easy Method with the DEISTS, containing in it a Discourse concerning Episcopacy, (published and many of them sold by the said Checkley) be a false and scandalous Libel ; Then we find the said Checkley guilty of all and every Part of the Indictment (excepting that supposed to traduce and draw into dispute the undoubted Right and Title of our Sovereign Lord King George, to the Kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland, and the Territories thereunto belonging) ; - But if the said Book, containing a Discourse concerning Episcopacy as aforesaid, be not a false and scandalous Libel ; Then we find him not guilty.

Att. SAMUEL TYLEY, Clerc.”

It will be observed that the verdict divides itself into two distinct parts.

First. It entirely acquits Mr. Checkley of the charge contained in the presentment of traducing and drawing into dispute the undoubted right and title of King George to the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, and the territories thereunto belonging.

Second. It finds him guilty only on condition that the book containing a discourse concerning Episcopacy be a false and scandalous libel.

A plea for arrest of judgment was immediately entered by his counsel, Mr. John Read, and able arguments were subsequently made by Mr. Read and by Mr. Checkley himself, both of which will be found in another part of this work.

Chief Justice Sewall, as a member of the Council, had been one of the complainants against Mr. Checkley, and now he was sitting in judgment on his case. Moreover only two years before this, in a letter to Governor Gurdon Saltonstall of Connecticut, the Chief-Justice said : —

“ I am fully of Mr. Cotton’s mind, that Episcopacy is that upon which the Fifth Vial is poured out ; and he will have hard work that shall endeavour to controll that Angel.”

This refers to the vision of Saint John in the Apocalypse, when he saw seven angels who had received seven golden vials *full* of the *wrath* of God, which they poured out for the punishment of men on the earth. “ The fifth angel,” says the sacred text, “ poured out his vial upon the *seat of the beast*,” and his kingdom was full of darkness, and they blasphemed God on account of their sufferings, but they did not repent.

Episcopacy therefore, according to Judge Sewall, was that terrible “ beast,” about which theologians have said so much, and about which they know so little. Tolerance of such a vile thing, the embodiment of unmitigated wickedness, or of its disciple and defender, could not be a virtue in the estimation of the Chief-Justice, and doubtless this was the sentiment of the other members of the court, who had been educated in the school of the same enlightened prophets.

With this knowledge we can estimate, in some degree, the difficulties that surrounded the court in “ maturely ” confid-
ering

ering the case before them. With this inspired definition of Episcopacy could there be any doubt as to the character of the verdict about to be rendered? Whatever explanations might be made, and whatever arguments might be offered, the issue could not be doubtful. The result might be said to be morally "foreordained."

On the 27th day of November, 1724, the Court pronounced the following sentence:—

"The Court, having maturely advised on this special Verdict, are of Opinion that the said John Checkley is guilty of publishing and selling of a false and scandalous Libel. It is therefore considered by the Court, that the said John Checkley shall pay a Fine of Fifty Pounds to the King, and enter into Recognizance in the Sum of One Hundred Pounds, with two Sureties in the Sum of Fifty Pounds each, for his good Behaviour for six Months, and also pay Costs of Prosecution, standing Committed until this Sentence be performed.

ATT'. SAMUEL TYLEY, Clerc."

Mr. Checkley entered into the bonds required, and, as sureties, Gillam Phillips, Esq., and George Buckeridge, of Boston, gave bonds in fifty pounds each. The fine was promptly paid. There was indeed, we confess, a grim sarcasm in paying a fine of "fifty pounds to the king," as a penalty for defending the church of which the King himself was the national head, while in reality the fine went into the public treasury, and was made practically to lower the taxes of the judges who imposed it. The irony of facts and the logic of events need no comment!!

Thus ended this judicial drama. To the outside observer it might be regarded as a melodramatic farce. But to the victim himself, to the members of the Church of England,

to the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, it had the obvious tinge of tragedy. It kindled afresh the fire it was intended to extinguish. It intensified the hostility of both parties, and inspired hatred, where love and kindness and tolerance ought to have prevailed.

There was a period in human history when freedom in the expression of religious doctrines and beliefs could be smothered in its birth, and even its memory lingered but a short time in the minds of men. But that period had now passed forever.

In this investigation we have endeavored to exhibit the animus that governed Mr. Checkley as derived exclusively from original documents. Whether he was right in his theological and ecclesiastical conclusions we have not undertaken to determine. We do not hesitate to say, that as we have thus far followed him through the different stages of his career, we have been profoundly impressed with his simple honesty and guileless sincerity. Our chief aim has been to set forth as clearly as possible the degree of religious toleration which was entertained and practiced at the period of our narrative. The intolerance which had prevailed in the early years of the colony had become greatly mitigated and softened. Banishment, mutilation, and death were no longer regarded as remedies for discordant beliefs. The law and the civil courts had been invoked without success. The wiser Puritans appear to have seen this, and henceforth legal restrictions and fines were laid aside, and the truth of both theory and practice in ecclesiastical matters, however damaging it might be to the claims of an opponent, was tested in the open forum of argument and reason. This trial
of

of Mr. Checkley was the last attempt, so far as we know, to prevent the publication of theological and ecclesiastical views, with all their consequences, by legal processes, fines, and the stigmas that naturally followed. But the publications of Mr. Checkley, for which he suffered so much, and which he bore with a commendable dignity and equanimity, made him nevertheless the protagonist of a great controversy, which continued through all the years down to the American Revolution, and called forth the best talent and the profoundest learning of the clergy of the Church of England, and of the Puritan ministers. But to this controversy we shall have occasion to refer in the sequel.

While Mr. Checkley was passing through these severe trials, he was devoting his leisure moments to the organization of two important institutions, the Boston Episcopal Charitable Society and a Public Library. The former of these was established on Easter Monday, the 6th of April, 1724, and in the record of members Mr. Checkley's name is among the Founders. Its charities are dispensed to persons who have been reduced from easy or affluent to very narrow circumstances, and during all these one hundred and seventy-one years, it has removed depression and anxiety from hundreds of burdened hearts, and given relief to those who were too diffident to ask a charity, but were nevertheless in fore need of it. Its motto is: *Dare quam accipere.*

At the present time the Society has a fund, which has been gradually accumulating, amounting to \$94,000; and, during the last year, its income of \$4,200 has been dispersed among forty-five beneficiaries.

To have been an active founder of such an institution is highly creditable to Mr. Checkley's memory.

Of the public library little is known. There was such a library in the first town-house, a wooden structure, which was burned in 1711. The library subsequently organized, was, doubtless, in the present Old State House, when its interior was consumed by fire on December 9, 1747. It is recorded that "books, papers, and records" were destroyed, and the books may have been, and doubtless were, those of the public library. The only allusion which I find to the existence of a public library in Boston between 1711 and 1747, is in a private letter of Mr. Checkley to the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bennet, dated June 15, 1725, in which he says:—

"In a short Time I propose to send you an account of the charitable Society of the Church of England, and of the public Library erected here: the laying the Foundation of both which, I have been (thanks to my good God) the happy tho' unworthy Instrument."

The publication of the condemned book on Episcopacy and the prosecution and trial for the same caused a lively stir among the clergy of the Church of England, as well as among the Puritan ministers, and gave to Dr. Gibson, the Bishop of London, much trouble and anxiety.

The procedure of Mr. Checkley had the approbation and sympathy of the Rectors of the two large and important churches of Boston, the Rev. Samuel Myles, of King's Chapel,⁶¹ the Rev. Timothy Cutler, D.D., of Christ's Church,

⁶¹ The Rev. Samuel Myles graduated at Harvard College in 1684, received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from the University of Oxford in 1693. He

Church,⁶² and also of the Rev. Matthias Plant, of St. Paul's Church, Newburyport;⁶³ and in other parts of New England, of the Rev. James McSparran, D.D., of St. Paul's Church, Narraganfet,⁶⁴ the Rev. James Honyman Rector of Trinity Church, Newport;⁶⁵ the Rev. Samuel Johnson, D.D.,

He was Rector of King's Chapel from June 29, 1689, to his death, March 1, 1727-8, a period of nearly forty years. For a full account of his useful career *vide History of King's Chapel*, by the Rev. Dr. F. W. P. Greenwood, 1833; also the *Annals of King's Chapel*, by the Rev. Henry W. Foote, 1882.

⁶² The Rev. Dr. Timothy Cutler was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, about 1683, and died in Boston, 1765; graduated at Harvard College in 1701; he was a Congregational minister in Stratford, Connecticut, ten years from 1709; he became President of Yale College in 1719; in 1723 he conformed to the Church of England, and repaired to London for orders; he returned to Boston in September, 1723, and became the first Rector of Christ Church, where he remained till his death, a period of forty-two years. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity both from the University of Oxford and from Canterbury, England. He was an accomplished and eloquent preacher, and distinguished for his learning, especially in Oriental languages, in which he had no peer in this country. He spoke Latin with fluency, and was thoroughly equipped in the humanities.

In a letter to Dr. Zachary Grey, the distinguished annotator of Hudibras, referring to Mr. Checkley's trial, he says: "Some good friends in town have made his fines easy to him, and, whatever his sufferings have been, we reap this advantage by it, that we have an instance of a bare-faced persecution, for, by the verdict of the Jury, he is

acquitted from any thing seditious relating to the Civil Government, and is only punished for detecting their schism, when the blackest and most hellish things are here vented against the Church with commendation." This is strong language. Perhaps he had in view Judge Sewall's definition of Episcopacy, as given on page 73, the "beast," the object of Divine wrath!! *Vide Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church in Massachusetts*, edited by Bishop W. S. Perry, p. 663.

⁶³ A missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts from 1721 to 1753. *Vide Digest of the Society's Records*, p. 353.

⁶⁴ Dr. McSparran was born in the North of Ireland, but of Scotch descent; he was ordained August 21, 1720, in the Chapel in the Palace of Fulham, by the Rt. Rev. John Robinson, D.D., Bishop of London. He was Rector of St. Paul's Church in North Kingtown, Rhode Island, then known as Narraganfet, from April, 1721, till his death on December 1, 1757. He published a sermon on the Christian Priesthood, and a series of Letters of an historical character entitled "America Dissected." He was an able preacher and a learned divine. He received the honorary degree of Master of Arts in 1709 from the University of Glasgow, and in 1731 that of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Oxford.

⁶⁵ The Rev. Mr. Honyman, a Scotchman by birth, was the first Rector of Trinity Church, Newport, having been appointed by the Society for the Propagation

D.D., Rector of Christ Church, Stratford,⁶⁵ and the Rev. George Pigot of Providence.⁶⁷ But there were two clergymen of the Church of England who did not approve of Mr. Checkley's proceedings; viz. the assistant minister of King's Chapel, the Rev. Henry Harris,⁶⁸ and the Rev. David Mosfom, Rector of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead.⁶⁹

Numerous

agation of the Gospel in 1704. He is denominated an "excellent scholar, a sound divine and accomplished gentleman." He died on July 2, 1750, after a long and eminently useful ministry.

⁶⁶ The Rev. Dr. Johnson was born in Guilford, Connecticut, Oct. 14, 1696; graduated at Yale College in 1714; received the honorary degree of Master of Arts in 1723, and that of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Oxford in 1743. For many years he was Rector of Christ Church, Stratford. He was the first President of King's, now Columbia, College, New York. He was a man of profound learning and great ability. He was the author of numerous publications; an English Grammar, an Hebrew Grammar, a work on logic, and several controversial publications, the titles of which will be found in the Bibliography contained in another part of this work.

⁶⁷ The Rev. George Pigot was a missionary of the Venerable Society at Stratford, Connecticut, in 1722; at King's, now St. John's, Church, Providence, 1723 to 1726; and Rector of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, 1727 to 1838, when he resigned, and probably returned to England. *Vide Digest of Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, p. 853. Mr. Pigot published a sermon on the observance of Christmas, in reply to the Rev. John Barnard, of Marblehead. *Vide Bibliography, postea.*

⁶⁸ The Rev. Henry Harris became

assistant minister of King's Chapel in 1709. An anonymous publication, without date, was issued in 1689, about the time of the erection of King's Chapel in Boston, written by the Rev. Dr. Increase Mather, entitled "A Brief Discourse Concerning the unlawfulness of the Common Prayer Worship," etc., which was intended to repress the interest lately awakened in favor of the Church of England in Boston. As early as 1704, the Rt. Rev. William King, then Bishop of Derry, published a treatise entitled, "A Discourse concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worship of God." The Rev. Mr. Harris published a reprint of this work, to which he added an elaborate *Preface*, over his own name, dated, Boston, November 7, 1712.

For much relating to the Rev. Mr. Harris, *vide Annals of King's Chapel*, by the Rev. H. W. Foote.

Harris is under some Attraction for his *unhappinefs* (that is the word) in writing his *Preface*, which was indeed almost universally decried." — *Cotton Mather. Vide Massachusetts Historical Collections*, XLVIII, p. 414.

⁶⁹ The Rev. David Mosfom was Rector of St. Michael's Church at Marblehead, from 1718 to 1726, when he removed to Virginia, and became the Rector of St. Peter's Church in New Kent County, where he remained forty years, till his death in 1767. While in Marblehead by his strenuous efforts and that of the Wardens and Vestry, he obtained an order from Governor Shute which

Numerous letters, both by Churchmen and by dissenters, not excepting the Lieutenant-Governor, William Dummer, were addressed to Dr. Gibson, the Bishop of London, on questions growing out of this contention, containing statements differing at so many points that his Lordship wrote an excellent letter to one of the clergy, evidently intending it for all, counselling conciliation and peace, in which occurs the following sensible advice: —

“The representations, which come over hither concerning the true ground and foundation of these unhappy differences, are so various that I am not able as yet to form any certain judgment about it, nor to see who is most in the blame. But as in cases of this nature there is usually more or less blame resting on both sides, while passion prevails against reason, so I earnestly entreat and require both sides to lay aside passion & to think seriously of peace.”⁷⁰

If the Bishop of London with all the information which came to him from the scene of these heated debates, could form

which relieved the parishioners of St. Michael's from paying taxes for the support of dissenting ministers. He addressed a letter, Dec. 17, 1724, to the Secretary of the Venerable Society, written in great warmth of passion, in which there are numerous errors of fact relating to Mr. Checkley. *Vide Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church in Massachusetts*, edited by Bishop W. S. Perry, pp. 168-70.

While at St. Peter's Church, New Kent, according to Bishop Meade, he had a contention with the clerk of the parish, and unwisely took occasion to assail him in a sermon from the pulpit. It was the clerk's duty to give out the Psalm for the choir, who immediately on

the conclusion of the sermon, read the following: —

With restless and ungovern'd rage,
Why do the heathen storm?
Why in such rash attempts engage
As they can ne'er perform?

Mr. Mossom's ministry was not unsuccessful. He performed the memorable service at New Kent, of joining in marriage George Washington and Mrs. Martha Custis, the widow of John Park Custis. *Vide Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia*. By Bishop William Meade. Vol. 1. p. 386.

⁷⁰ *Vide Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church in Massachusetts*, edited by Bishop W. S. Perry, pp. 166-7.

form no "certain judgment," much less can we after the lapse of a hundred and seventy years. I shall not therefore enter into any discussion of the subject, but simply state that the contention grew out of a criticism of Mr. Checkley's book by the Rev. Henry Harris in a public discourse delivered in King's Chapel. Some of the friends of Mr. Checkley conceived that in the sermon Mr. Harris had insinuated that they were disloyal to the government, and requested an interview with him, which he however declined, but requested the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Dummer, who was a distinguished dissenter, to call both parties before him and his Council, composed also of dissenters, which he did, and after a full hearing, Mr. Harris was acquitted of any fault, and a commendatory letter was written in his behalf by Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, both to the Bishop of London and to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

In this letter, for both letters were in the same words, Mr. Checkley is charged with "disaffection to his Majesty;" and it is also stated that in his book "an indefeasible hereditary right to the Crown was therein advanced, and a parliamentary right oppugned & denied." It is obvious that the Lieutenant-Governor had been reading Mr. Checkley's book, if he had read it at all, through "green spectacles," or some other irritating or distorting medium, as on the trial which occurred a few months later, a jury of twelve men under oath found this charge wholly without foundation. There is no reference whatever in the book to loyalty or disloyalty to his "Majesty," nor any allusion made however remotely to "hereditary"

“hereditary” or “parliamentary” right to the Crown. How an honest fair-minded Christian man, as he professed to be, could make such a statement, so definite and unqualified, and at the same time so destitute of truth, is difficult to conceive.

This escapade in King’s Chapel, the arraignment of certain members of the parish, in a public discourse, was a bold, as well as unfortunate step for the Rev. Mr. Harris. He had been anxious to be advanced to the Rectorship of King’s Chapel, but his proceedings in this contention were so violent, personal, and unreasonablc, that he lost the confidence of his parishioners which was never afterwards regained. We shall refer to this subject more at length in the sequel.

During the year of Mr. Checkley’s trial his assailants were not asleep. They had invoked the authority of the law, but its potency had apparently been less decisive than they had anticipated. It had given currency to the arguments for Episcopacy, which they had desired to suppress. The question could now only be met, argument for argument, in an open field. Both parties were ready for the scrimmage. Eight pamphlets at least, attacking Mr. Checkley’s publications, were issued from the press, bearing the date of 1724, the year of his trial. But it must be borne in mind that 1724 Old Style did not end till the 25th of March, 1725, and consequently there were nearly four months from the completion of the trial to the end of the year. Any publication issued after the first of January and before the 25th of March, 1725, would bear the date of 1724. Besides the pamphlets by Professor Wigglesworth, and Dr. Dickinson, already referred to

on a previous page, another attack upon Mr. Checkley was issued by the Rev. Thomas Foxcroft,⁷¹ the accomplished minister of the First Church of Boston, entitled the "Ruling and Ordaining Power of Congregational Bishops or Presbyters Defended." The Rev. Thomas Walter,⁷² the intimate friend of Mr. Checkley already referred to, published a small volume entitled, "An Essay upon that Paradox, Infallibility may sometimes Mistake, or a Reply to a Discourse concerning Episcopacy. Prefixed some Remarks upon a Discourse showing who is a true Pastor of the Church of Christ. By Martin Marprelate."

Mr. Checkley first replied to Professor Wigglesworth's⁷³ book, entitled "Sober Remarks," in a pamphlet of 73 pages. In the colophon at page 52, is the date May 20, 1724, which indicates that it was ready for the press before the final steps were taken in his trial. It may not have been issued till some months later. Before the end of the year however, Mr. Checkley reissued this same pamphlet with important additions, containing strictures upon Mr. Dickinson's⁷⁴ "Defence of Presbyterian Ordination," on Mr. Walter's "Essay on the Paradox," and on Mr. Foxcroft's "Ordaining Power of Congregational Bishops." This was a pamphlet of 87 pages. These publications of Mr. Checkley are all reprinted in another part of this work.

Mr. Dickinson published a rejoinder, entitled, "Remarks upon the Postscript of the Defence of the Modest Proof."

Mr.

⁷¹ The Rev. Thomas Foxcroft was born in 1697, and died in 1769; graduated at Harvard College in 1714, and became a minister of the First Church in

Boston in 1717. He published many discourses.

⁷² *Vide antea*, note 4, p. 3.

⁷³ *Vide antea*, note 41, p. 51.

⁷⁴ *Vide antea*, note 42, p. 51.

Mr. Nathan Prince,⁷⁵ a brother of Dr. Thomas Prince, for many years an instructor in Harvard College, published, "An Answer to Lefley and his late Interpolator's Discourse concerning Episcopacy." An unknown writer issued a "Caveat against the new sect of Annabaptists that are great zealots for Diocese Bishops, yet no Great Friends to the Established Church of England." Another tract was published, entitled, "The Madness of the Jacobite Party in attempting to set a Popish Pretender on the British Throne, Demonstrated."

All these publications were issued in 1724. The last three were not thought of sufficient importance to merit a reply.

The next year, 1725, the Rev. Mr. Foxcroft rejoined in a somewhat extended essay entitled, "A vindication of the appendix to the Sober Remarks, being a reply to the Defence of the Modest Proof," etc. The same year Mr. Checkley ended his part of the Controversy by a pamphlet, entitled "A Letter to Jonathan Dickinson."

All had been said that was demanded by the gravity of the question in debate. Indeed more or less had been uttered, as is usual in most controversies, that might well have been omitted. In personalities neither party often indulged. Severe epithets

⁷⁵ Nathan Prince was born in Sandwich, Massachusetts, Nov. 30, 1698, and died, July 25, 1748. He was a tutor and fellow of Harvard College where he had graduated in 1718. He wrote and published an account of the constitution and government of the college from its foundation to the year 1742. He subsequently took orders in the Church of England, and was settled on the island of Ruatan, in the Bay of Hon-

duras, in the Caribbean Sea, where he died. Dr. William Allen says in his dictionary that he was a "greater mathematician and philosopher, and a much better classical scholar and logician than his brother," the Rev. Dr. Thomas Prince, the antiquary. He was removed from his fellowship in 1747 out of which grew his criticisms on the management of the college; some of his suggestions have been adopted.

epithets and envenomed words from both sides were frequently poured out in ample abundance upon the adversary's sentiments and conclusions. There was some boasting, some threatening display, and considerable unwarranted assumption. But this was apparently intended for the unlettered and uninstructed, and not for the erudite and learned. The disputants themselves knew full well the weight of each other's armor. They were not so blinded by the fog of hostile feeling as not to see clearly the force of an adverse logic. But it is no part of our present purpose to analyze this debate. The whole is on record, and the student of this history can drink at the fountain, if he will, either for his entertainment or instruction.

The elaborate arguments at the trial of Mr. Checkley, and the lively controversy that followed left apparently some uneasiness, some self-dissatisfaction in the minds of the ministers of the standing order. As clergymen their ordinations had been invalidated and discredited, and they had been emphatically told that theirs was not the Established Church of Massachusetts Bay. This last unwelcome truth had never before been proclaimed in their presence, or at least no argument had been publicly adduced to prove it. It was doubtless a new revelation. It came unexpectedly and under circumstances which gave it great weight. By the trial the rare opportunity had been offered for Mr. Checkley to state fully and publicly not only the argument for Episcopacy, but likewise what he regarded as the untenable character of their claim to be the Established Church of Massachusetts Bay. They did not admit that these allegations were true, but nevertheless they pondered them deeply and seriously. Dr. Cotton

Mather,

Mather, the leading spirit among the ministers, pondered them moodily in his brown old study. He clearly saw an impending danger ahead, and was sure that something must be done to avert the threatening evil. This learned divine never brooded over any great subject without bringing forth something of which he deemed himself justly proud. The outcome of his solemn brooding after this trial, was a Synod, a veritable legalized Synod, the like of which had not been held in Massachusetts Bay since the advent of the new Charter.

In a convention of ministers the subject was fully discussed, and Dr. Cotton Mather was deputed to draw up and present to the General Court a petition in their behalf, asking its authority and approbation, which he did in the following words:—

“To the very Hon^{ble} W Dummer Esq^r, Lieut Gov^r and Com^r in Chief, &c to the Honorable the Councillors, to the Honoured the Representatives in the Great and General Court of his Majesty’s Province of the Massachusetts Bay assembled and now sitting — A Memorial and address humbly presented.

At a general Convention of Ministers from several parts of the province at Boston, 27th May 1725,

Considering the great and visible decay of piety in the Country, and the Growth of many miscarriages, which we may fear have provoked the Glorious Lord, in a law, in a series of various Judgments wonderfully to distress us; Considering also the laudable example of our predecessors to recover and establish the faith and order of the Gospel in the Churches and provide against what immoralities might threaten to impair them in the way of general Synods convened for that purpose, and considering that about Forty Five years have now rolled away since these Churches have now seen any such conventions, it is

humbly

humbly desired, that the Honored General Court, would express their concern for the great interests of Religion, in the Country, by calling the several churches in the province to meet, by their Pastors, and Messengers, in a Synod, and from thence offer their advice upon that weighty case which the circumstances of the day do loudly call to be considered: What are the Miscarriages whereof we have reason to think the Judgment of Heaven upon us, call us to be more generally sensible, and what may be the most evangelical and effectual expedients to put a stop to those or the like miscarriages. This proposal we humbly make in hopes that if it be prosecuted it may be followed with many desirable consequences worthy the study of those whom God has made, and we are so happy to enjoy, as the nursing Fathers of our Churches.

COTTON MATHER

In the name of the ministers assembled in their General Convention."

A Synod at that time, called together and authorized by the General Court, was necessarily a body possessing great power and authority. It was something more than a mere conference. It was the creature of the General Court. The scope of the one here proposed, as the reader has seen, was indefinite, of almost unlimited comprehension, and its design purposely shrouded in uncertain generalities. It might deal with principles of faith, modes of life and conduct, and with church government and orders. If the proceedings of the proposed Synod should be ratified by the government, as they were most sure to be, it might abridge and limit the liberty of all Christian bodies except that of the congregational order; in fact, it might, and doubtless would, have constituted that body the established church of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

The dangerous nature of such a Synod, held under the auspices of the General Court, was keenly felt by the clergy
of

of the Church of England in Boston. The Rev. Samuel Myles, of King's Chapel, and the Rev. Dr. Timothy Cutler, of Christ Church, immediately sent in their objections to the movement. The Memorial itself will best give their views on the subject:—

THE MEMORIAL of *Timothy Cutler, Samuel Myles, Ministers of the Established Church of England in Boston* humbly presented to the Hon^{ble} W^m Dummer, Esq. Lieut Gov^r of His Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay; The Hon^{ble} his Majesty's Council & representatives of the said Province in Gen^l Court assembled this 10th day of June 1725.

WHEREAS we are informed that a Memorial has been presented to this honorable Court & that the prayer of it hath been already granted by the honorable his Majesty's Council & is now depending in the honorable the house of representatives:

Therefore we humbly beg leave to offer the following reasons against the s^d memorial.

1st. The matter of the petition being general respecting ye miscarriages of the whole body of the people in this land it is presumed to comprehend the Churches of England, wherein the petitioners have no right to intermeddle.

2nd. Whereas, by the tenour of the Petition which is to revive the decaying Piety, in Conformity with the Faith & order of the Gospel, In explication of which general terms the Petitioners refer this Hon^{ble} Court to a time (45 years ago) when there was no Church of England in New England; We therefore apprehend that the Synod petitioned for is designed to prejudice the people of the Land against the s^d Church, & we have little reason to expect that in such a Synod she will be treated with that Tendernefs and respect which is due to an established Church.

3^d. As the Episcopal Ministers in this Province are equally concerned with the Petitioners, for the Purity of Faith and manner in
this

this Land it is difrefpectful to them not to be confulted in this important affair.

4th. Whereas it is defired that the feveral churches in the Province do meet, &c, it is either an hard reflection upon the epifcopal churches as none in not including them; & if they are included we think it very improper it being without the knowledge of their Right Rev. Diocefan the Lord Bifhop of London.

5th. Whereas by Royal Authority the Colonjes in America are annexed to the Diocefe of London, & inafmuch as nothing can be tranfacted in ecclefaftical matters without the Cognizance of the Bifhop, We are humbly of opinion that it will neither be dutiful to his moft facred Majefty King George nor confitent with the rights of our Right Rev. Diocefan to encourage or call the faid Synod until the pleasure of His Majefty fhall be known therein. — We humbly pray this Hon^{ble} Court to take the premifes into their ferious confideration.

TIMOTHY CUTLER
SAM^l MYLES.

In the Council this Memorial was curtly difmiffed, with this brief record of their proceedings: —

“Whereas this memorial contains an indecent reflection on the proceedings of this Board, with feveral Groundlefs Infnuations — Voted that it may be difmiffed. J. WILLARD, Secretary.”

The lower Houfe concurred.

But the Memorial, notwithstanding this haughty and fupercilious treatment, neverthelefs had its effect. It had been carefully drawn in confultation with Mr. Checkley, and the 5th fection, which he had propofed and ftrenuoufly urged, contained legal poffibilities that gave the Houfe fome uneafinefs about the propriety of holding the propofed Synod. After this important fection had been read over in

the House several times, and fully debated, it was finally unanimously decided that the subject of a Synod be deferred until the autumnal session. Thus the offspring of Dr. Cotton Mather's fertile brain had already sickened, and was likely to die in the hands of his friends. Whoever listened to the sublime Doctor's comments on this disposition of the subject must have been greatly entertained.

But the end had not yet come. It was necessary that all these proceedings should be transmitted to the Bishop of London, in order that they might reach the King's Council, through which his Majesty might issue his command forbidding the holding of a Synod. Mr. Checkley hastened to obtain a copy of Dr. Mather's memorial in behalf of the ministers for holding a Synod, in which he succeeded, but nevertheless with great difficulty. It was the duty of the Lieutenant-Governor to transmit these proceedings to the King's Council in England, but this he did not choose to do, but sought, on the contrary, to keep them secret. Through the vigilance and activity of Mr. Checkley copies of all the papers were despatched, the Memorial of Dr. Cutler and Mr. Myles, the proceedings of the Assembly in dismissing it, and their doings upon the application of the ministers through Cotton Mather for the calling of a Synod.

On reaching the Bishop of London, the papers were referred to the Lords Justices for their opinion. By them they were submitted to the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General for their consideration. The opinion of these two learned jurists was in due time presented, approved, and adopted by the Lords Justices of England, and by their Secretary, Mr. Delafaye, communicated to William Dum-
mer,

mer, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. This official opinion on an important question we give in full as follows:—

WHITEHALL Oct^r 7th, 1725.

SIR,

The Lords Justices being informed from such good hands as make the truth of this advice not to be doubted, that at a General Convention of Ministers from several parts of His Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay at Boston on the 27th May last, a Memorial and address was framed, directed to you as Lieu^t Governor and Commander in Chief and to the Council and House of Representatives then sitting, desiring that the General Assembly would call the several Churches in that Province to meet by their Pastors and Messengers, in a Synod, which memorial and address being accordingly presented by some of the said Ministers, in the name and at the desire of the said Convention, was considered in Council the 3rd of June following, and there approved; but the House of Representatives put off the consideration of it to the next session in which the Council afterwards concurred. Their Ex^{cies} were extremely surpris'd, that no account of so extraordinary and important a transaction should have been transmitted by you pursuant to an Act in your Instructions by which you are directed upon all occasions to send unto His Majesty, and to the Commis^{rs} for Trade and Plantations, a particular account of all your proceedings and the condition of affairs within your Government.

As this matter does highly concern His Majesty's Royal Prerogative, Their Ex^{cies} referred it to M^r Attorney and M^r Solicitor General, who after mature Deliberation and
making

making all the proper enquiries, reported that from the Charters and Laws of your Colony, they cannot collect that there is any regular establishment of a National or Provincial Church There, so as to warrant the holding of Convocations or Synods of the Clergy; but if such Synods might be holden, yet they take it to be clear in point of Law that his Majesty's supremacy in Ecclesiastical affairs being a branch of his prerogative does take place in the Plantations, and that Synods cannot be held, nor is it lawful for the Clergy to assemble as in a Synod without authority from his Majesty. They conceive the above mentioned application of the said Ministers, not to you alone as representing the King's Persons; but to you and the Council, and the House of Representatives, to be a contempt of his Majesty's Prerogative, as it is a public acknowledgement, that the power of granting what they desire, resides in the Legislative body of the Province, which by Law is vested only in his Majesty, and the Lieu' Gov', Council and Assembly intermeddling therein was an invasion of his Majesty's royal authority, which it was your particular duty as Lieu' Gov' to have withstood, and rejected, and that the consent of the Governor, the Council and House of Representatives will not be a sufficient authority for the holding of such Synod.

Their Excell^{cies}, upon consideration of this opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General, which they have been pleased to approve, have commanded me to acquaint you therewith, and to express to you their surprize, that no account of so remarkable a transaction, which so nearly concerns the King's Prerogative, and the welfare of his Majesty's Province under your Government, has been
received

received from you, and to signify to you their directions that you do put an effectual stop to any such proceedings; but if the consent, desired by the Ministers above mentioned for holding a Synod should have been obtained, and this pretended Synod should be actually fitting when you receive these, their Exc^{ies} directions, they do, in that case, require and direct you to cause such, their meeting, to cease, acquainting them that their Assembly is against Law, and a contempt of his Majesty's Prerogative, and that they are to forbear to meet any more, and if, notwithstanding such signification, they shall continue to hold their Assembly, You are then to take care that the principal Actors therein be prosecuted for a misdemeanor; but you are to avoid doing any formal act to dissolve that, lest that might be construed to imply that they had a right to Assemble.

This, Sir, is what I have in command from their Exc^{ies} to signify to you, and I must observe to you that the Precedent quoted in the above-mentioned memorial of such a Synod being held 45 years ago, falls in with the year 1680, and that the former Charter upon which the Government of your Province depended was repealed, by *Scire facias*, in the year 1684, and the new Charter was granted in the year 1691, from whence it appears that if such Synods or Assembly was holden as is alledged, it happened a short time before the repealing of the old Charter; but none has been held since the granting of the New One.

I am &c.

CHARLES DELAFAYE.⁷⁶

This

⁷⁶ Vide *Historical Collections of the churches of Massachusetts*, edited by Bishop W. S. Perry, *American Colonial Church in Massa-* pp. 186-90.

This opinion of the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, and the Lords Justices of England, could not fail to be gratifying to Mr. Checkley. He had been deeply interested in the whole proceedings, and was undoubtedly *magna pars* in all the measures designed to oppose the calling of a Synod. He had stated in his argument on his trial that "the Church of England, as established in England, and no OTHER, is established in all his Majesty's Plantations." The opinion of these distinguished jurists was that after mature deliberation and making all the proper inquiries, "they cannot collect that there is any regular establishment of a National or Provincial Church there, so as to warrant the holding of Convocations or Synods of the Clergy." The confirmation of his opinion, which he had boldly stated before the magistrates, on his recent trial, and doubtless on many other occasions, by such legal authority was eminently satisfactory. Mr. Checkley's enforced study of the law had made him familiar with the legal relations of the Church of England to the religious bodies in the colonies. But he was only a layman, and no opinion of his could have much weight with the dissenters. This confirmation of his views was not only a compliment to his knowledge and acumen, but a gratification of his pride. The defeat of Dr. Cotton Mather, in a favorite scheme, by one whom he affected to despise, must have been painfully humiliating, and perhaps accounts for the uncomplimentary terms in which he was subsequently accustomed to speak of Mr. Checkley whenever he had occasion to mention him.

It is not improbable that Mr. Checkley's positive statement that the standing order was not a legally established Church

Church in Massachusetts Bay, and his proofs by the citation at his trial of the laws of England and the canons of the English Church, so clear, so full, and so explicit, had much to do in determining the character of the verdict found against him, and the severe penalty adjudged by the Court. This doctrine was then new to the Magistrates of Massachusetts Bay, and if set up and established would work a serious change in the administration of the ecclesiastical affairs of the Province. A Synod, legalized by the General Court, which should place their claim of an established Church on a more solid foundation, was apparently their last expiring effort.

It is obvious to remark that no attempt was afterwards made by Dr. Cotton Mather or others to hold a Synod in the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

Mr. Checkley had long entertained a desire to enter into Holy Orders. He had made application for orders in 1723, which had been declined because there was at that time no vacancy in New England where he could be appointed, and partly on account of his refusal to take the oaths which had been ordered by the authorities in Massachusetts Bay.⁷⁶¹ In

1727

⁷⁶¹ According to the rules of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, all missionaries were appointed to some specific parish or field. In 1723 Mr. Checkley appeared before a committee of the Society and stated the advantages of an itinerant missionary for New England. The suggestion was entertained with some favor. But the scheme was not

finally adopted. At a subsequent meeting of the Society it was agreed that Mr. Checkley be informed that there was at that time no vacancy in New England to which he could be appointed, and he was recommended, if he looked for any future favor from them, upon his return to New England to take the oaths appointed by authority, and to demean himself as a loyal and dutiful subject.

1727 he repaired to England, and made application again for orders to Dr. Gibson the Bishop of London. He was here met, however, by unexpected and extraordinary obstacles. At that time the Rev. John Barnard⁷⁷ and the Rev. Edward Holyoke, who subsequently became President of Harvard College,⁷⁸ were ministers of the Congregational order at Marblehead. They were both men of character and distinction. A rumor had gained currency that Mr. Checkley, on obtaining orders in England, would be sent by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts to Marblehead, as Rector of St. Michael's Church, which was then vacant. His publications in defence of Episcopacy, and his attack upon some of the distinguishing doctrines of Calvinism, naturally led these gentlemen to believe that such a lively champion of the Church of England would hardly prove a desirable neighbor in the compact little town of Marblehead. Mr. Barnard informs us in his autobiography that he wrote a letter to the Bishop of London, for the purpose of preventing Mr. Checkley's ordination, signed both by himself and Mr. Holyoke. Mr. Barnard has placed upon record the objections, which he urged doubtless in his letter to the Bishop of London. The first was that Mr. Checkley was "void of a liberal education"; the second, that he was "an indefatigable enemy to the churches of this country";

⁷⁷ The Rev. John Barnard was born Nov. 6, 1681, and died Jan. 24, 1770. He graduated at Harvard College 1700. He published many sermons, one on the impropriety of keeping Christmas day. He also left an Autobiography, which was published in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, Vol. XXXV.

⁷⁸ The Rev. Edward Holyoke was born June 25, 1689; died June 1, 1769; graduated at Harvard College in 1705. He became President of the College in 1737, and held the office till his death. He published several sermons.

country"; third, that he was "a non-juror to the British government."⁷⁹

The first of these statements was undoubtedly not true. He was educated at the Boston Latin School, and at the University of Oxford in England. Although he did not matriculate at the latter institution, he appears to have pursued his studies there under private tutors. He was an accomplished scholar in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and, as all may see who read his defence on his trial in Boston, he was master of a pure, vigorous, and polished English, and of a sound, clear, and discriminating logic, the best evidences of well disciplined and cultivated intellectual powers. Such a man could not be "void of a liberal education."

The second statement was true, if all were "enemies of their churches" who did not believe in the validity of their ministerial orders or in the truth of their Calvinistic teaching. Mr. Checkley was neither a Congregationalist nor a Calvinist. By his publications he had made known as distinctly as was possible his views on both of these subjects. If he had agreed with them on these points, he doubtless would not have fought orders in the Church of England. But he did not regard himself as the enemy of those with whom he differed. His own words are explicit:—

"I wou'd willingly displease no Man, but live at peace with all the World. God knows my Heart, I hate no man's Person, but would do him all the good that is in my Power. But if I cannot do him Good without displeasing him, I ought to prefer his Good to the disturbing

⁷⁹ *Vide Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. XXXV. p. 229.

turbing him a little; else I do not really love him. And if he takes Offence at me for this, it is his Fault, not mine."⁸⁰

It is interesting to observe that Mr. Barnard did not desire to have any clergyman of the Church of England settled at Marblehead who would be likely to be an "enemy of the churches of this country;" nevertheless two years after he had written this to the Bishop of London, he preached, on the 25th of December, 1729, and subsequently published, a sermon against the observance of Christmas day, a very natural method of provoking hostility to their "churches," if it did not already exist. Whatever may be said of Mr. Checkley, it is very plain that Mr. Barnard was an enemy to at least one very important and universal observance of the Church of England.⁸¹

Mr. Barnard's third objection was that Mr. Checkley was "a non-juror to the British Government." This was distinctly a false accusation. He had undoubtedly a very strong sympathy for the non-jurors in their sufferings for conscience' sake, as the best men, from that time to this, have always had. But there was at that time the most ample evidence that he was not himself a non-juror. He had taken the oath of allegiance in Boston, which was on record. He had been prosecuted on this identical charge, and had been acquitted by a jury of twelve men. The Holy Orders which he was seeking could not be conferred upon any one until he had taken an oath of allegiance to the British Government,

⁸⁰ *Vide* Discourse on Episcopacy, p. 96.

⁸¹ *Vide* Mr. Barnard's Sermon upon
December 25, 1729. Boston 1731, and an
answer by the Rev. George Pigot, Rector
of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead,
January 4, 1729-30, Boston 1731.

ernment, and this Mr. Checkley was ready to do. In the face of these facts this charge could not be made by any one without assuming the office of a false accuser. This office Mr. Barnard assumed, of which it does not appear that he ever repented. We have here a notable example of how completely prejudice and zeal sometimes stifle the voice of conscience, and lead their victim into violations of Christian morality at which a pagan might well hesitate and be ashamed.

Influenced more or less by these misrepresentations, and probably by others during Mr. Checkley's late trial, the Bishop of London was not prepared at this time to grant to him the Holy Orders for which he fought.

On his return to Boston, thus defeated in his purpose, Mr. Checkley again settled down to his accustomed occupations in selling books and other commodities in his little shop over against the west end of the Town-House, which he had dignified with the name of the "Crown and Blue-Gate."

Few events of general interest diversified the next ten years of his life. He was a member of the corporation of King's Chapel, and took an active part in the administration of its affairs. He was sometimes a member of its vestry, and often appointed on important committees. During this period there were in the parish many differences and contentions. Mr. Checkley's active temperament and habit of holding positive views on most subjects made him prominent, if not a leader, on one side or the other, on all questions on which there were two opinions in the parish.

Perhaps the most exciting, if not the most important, matter in the parish of King's Chapel during these years related

related to the Rev. Henry Harris, the assistant minister of the Chapel. Mr. Harris was an Englishman, a graduate of Jesus College at Oxford, and held a unique fellowship in that college, on a foundation established by Sir Leoline Jenkins, yielding a stipend of £40 per annum. The fellows on this foundation were under the direction of the Bishop of London, and were created for service on "her Majesty's ship at sea," or in "her foreign plantations." In addition to this stipend, the Rev. Mr. Harris received £100 annually from the sovereign, which during the reign of Queen Anne was denominated the "Queen's Bounty." His duties were well defined, and beyond these duties he was not under the direction or control of the Rector of the parish.⁵² He was distinguished for good scholarship and superior ability.⁵³

In

⁵² Vide *The Bishop of London's Instructions to Mr. Harris, in the Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church in Massachusetts*, edited by Bishop W. S. Perry, pp. 115-16. A full account of the origin of the fellowship which the Rev. Mr. Harris held will be found in the *History of the Church of England in the Colonies*, by the Rev. James S. M. Anderson, London, 1848, Vol. II. p. 571, *et sequentia*.

⁵³ Vide *Annals of King's Chapel*, by Henry Wilder Foote, Vol. I. p. 194 *et alibi*, for much relating to the Rev. Henry Harris. He became the assistant minister of King's Chapel, or Queen's Chapel, as it was at that time called, in 1709. He edited an edition of a Discourse concerning the "Inventions of Men in the worship of God," by Dr. William King, Bishop of London-Derry, reprinted in Boston 1712. Mr. Harris published also a sermon delivered in King's Chapel on Christmas day, 1712. The occasion of this publication may be here noted.

Dr. Cotton Mather preached a discourse at the Thursday lecture, on the same day, entitled "Grace Defended. A Censure on the Ungodliness. By which the Glorious Grace of God is too commonly Abused. A Sermon preached Decr. 25, 1712. Boston-Lecture, Boston, 1712." Dr. Mather took this opportunity to censure the observance of Christmas by the members of the Church of England. This he did by innuendoes in such statements as these:—" 'T is an Evident Affront unto the *Grace of God* for Men to make the Birth of Our *Holy Saviour* an Encouragement and an Occasion for very *Unholy Enormities*. . . . Can you in your *Conscience* think that our *Holy Saviour* is honored by *hard Drinking*, by *lewd Gaming*, by *rude Revelling*, by a *Mess*, fit for none but a *Saturn* or a *Bacchus*, on the Night of a *Mahometan Ramadam*?"

The dignified course of the vestry of King's Chapel after this virulent attack upon
upon

In the later years of the Rev. Mr. Myles's Rectorship, when the infirmities of age made it obvious that his earthly career would soon be terminated, the Rev. Mr. Harris became ambitious to succeed him as Rector of the parish. He had not, however, pursued a course that rendered him generally acceptable to the parishioners. He had put himself in an attitude of hostility to Mr. Checkley when he was passing through his trial, had criticised his book from the pulpit, and at that time wrote to the Bishop of London, censuring with great bitterness both Mr. Checkley and the Rev. Dr. Cutler, Rector of Christ Church. This letter doubtless contained a mixture of truth and error. If it prevented Mr. Checkley's entrance into Holy Orders, which he was at that time seeking, it undoubtedly defeated Mr. Harris's hope of obtaining the Rectorship of the Chapel, which was at that time his controlling ambition.

In the contention between Mr. Checkley and Mr. Harris it is quite impossible, with the incomplete data now before us, to determine which was in the right, or how far each was in the wrong. While full representations were sent by both sides to the Bishop of London, he wrote that he was not able

“to

upon one of their cherished observances was simply to publish the Rev. Mr. Harris's sermon delivered in the chapel on the same day, which was a plain, practical discourse, clear in statement and devout in spirit, wholly inconsistent with the bugbears with which Dr. Mather had thought it best to adorn his Christmas sermon. This was a delicate and apostolic method, not too common at that day, of “heaping coals of fire” on an assailant's head. The following is the title of the sermon: —

A SERMON Preached at the QUEEN'S CHAPPEL in *Boston*, upon CHRISTMAS DAY, the 25th of December 1712. Published at the Request of the Gentlemen of the Vestry. By Mr. HARRIS, one of the Ministers of the said Chappel, and Fellow of Jesus-College, in OXFORD. BOSTON in *New England*: Printed by *B. Green*; Sold by *Jeanna Perry*, at her shop in King Street. 1712.

The orthography of the Mohammedan fast *Ramadan*, as used by Dr. Mather, needs correction.

“to form any certain judgment about it, nor to see who is most in the blame.” The sympathies of a majority of the parish were distinctly with Mr. Checkley, and the cherished hopes of Mr. Harris of obtaining the Rectorship of the Chapel were blasted almost in the bud. The Rev. Roger Price⁸⁴ was appointed to the place by Dr. Gibson, the Bishop of London, and was inducted into office, with the usual ceremonies, on the 25th of June, 1729. About three months later, on the 6th of October, the Rev. Mr. Harris died, and with him the controversy that had given him and others great discomfort and mental anguish, and which, we may well believe, hastened his death.

While this parochial and personal scrimmage was in progress Mr. Checkley found time, in 1728, to address a letter to the Bishop of London, in which he set forth with great earnestness and force the sufferings and hardships which the members

⁸⁴ The Rev. Roger Price was born in England, Dec. 6, 1696, was of Balliol College, Oxford, where he graduated in 1717. After taking orders, he was some time a chaplain on the Coast of Guinea, and on the island of Jamaica. He was subsequently for some time at Leigh, a small seaport town in Essex, England. By the recommendation of Dr. Gibson, the Bishop of London, he became Rector of King's Chapel. He was inducted into office on the 25th of June, 1729, with the ceremonies usual in the Church of England; a full account of which will be found in Dr. F. W. P. Greenwood's *History of King's Chapel*, pp. 89-91. Mr. Price resigned the Rectorship of the Chapel in 1747. He had been made Commissary for New England by the Bishop of London, on becoming Rector of King's Chapel, in

1729. This office he held till the death of Bishop Gibson, in 1748, when it ceased by limitation. As Commissary to the Bishop of London, it was his duty to collect and forward to the Bishop such information in regard to the clergy and the churches as was important for him to have. He also called conventions of the clergy, and presided at the same, and was expected to exercise at all times a benign influence for the prosperity and advancement of the Church. From 1748 to 1753 he was a missionary of the Venerable Society at St. Paul's Church, Hopkinton, Massachusetts. He returned to England in 1753, and died at Leigh, Essex, Dec. 8, 1762. A very full account of his life and career may be found in the *Annals of King's Chapel*, by Henry Wilder Foote: Boston, 1882.

members of the Church of England were forced to endure from the unjust and tyrannical laws, which compelled them by taxation to aid in the support of the parishes of the congregational order, although they did not believe their teaching or attend their services. Members of the Church of England in every part of the Province of Massachusetts Bay were threatened and harassed, and thrown into prison for non-compliance. Those who resided more than five miles from an Episcopal church were arrested and fined if they attempted on Sunday to go to their own church, and were subjected to taxation for the support of congregational parishes. Mr. Checkley's able letter asks the Bishop of London to use his influence in their behalf, that the Church of England might not fall a sacrifice to their cruel and oppressive laws.⁸⁵

Mr. Matthew Ellis, of Medford, a member of Christ Church, Boston, was among others cast into prison for non-compliance in the payment of these odious taxes. Through the influence of the united vestries of King's Chapel and Christ Church, who regarded the law as inconsistent with the provisions of the charter of the Province, Mr. Ellis, in order to test it, prosecuted for false imprisonment the constable, Richard Sprague, who had been the instrument of his incarceration. The case was carried through all the courts of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, but no redress could be obtained; and moreover the Superior Court denied him an appeal to the King in Council. But the feeling was too

⁸⁵ For this letter, *Vide* Vol. II. p. 188, also, *Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church in Massachu-* *setts*, edited by Bishop W. S. Perry, pp. 250-52.

too intense to allow the matter to be dropped here. On the application of Mr. Ellis to the King in Council an appeal was readily granted, and Mr. Sprague was summoned to appear before a committee of the Privy Council to answer for the imprisonment of Mr. Ellis.

The persistence of Mr. Ellis, backed by the churchmen of the two important parishes of the Church of England in Boston, among whom was to be found the best legal talent in the colony, led the magistrates and the General Court, however unwillingly, to a serious consideration of the weakness of their case, and the great injustice of their law. They clearly saw that good policy at least required their immediate action. The General Court therefore, without waiting till the law was pronounced null and void, as they doubtless anticipated it would be, hastened to change and modify it in such a manner that it was no longer oppressive to the members of the Church of England.

The fruits of Mr. Checkley's letter to the Bishop of London came tardily but nevertheless effectively. Through it the Bishop of London and the officers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts were clearly and fully informed of the nature and oppressive character of the Puritan law. It was doubtless through their influence that Mr. Ellis's appeal to the Privy Council was granted, and that the law was finally modified and divested of its oppressive features.⁶⁶

In the year 1730, six years after Mr. Checkley's prosecution

⁶⁶ *Vide Historical Collections of the Massachusetts*, edited by Bishop W. S. Perry, pp. 311-12, *et alibi*.

tion in the courts of Boston, and three years after he was defeated in his efforts to enter the ministry of the Church of England, he published his argument at his trial, which had occurred in 1724. There was something significant in the publication of this forensic discourse. In it he reiterated and affirmed in the most decisive and positive manner the claims of Episcopacy as set forth in the so-called "libelous book." He neither withdrew, denied, mitigated, nor softened one of its allegations. In this speech his views had been formulated under great responsibilities, and he had stated them with studious clearness and care. It moreover contained what Mr. Checkley and his friends regarded as an absolute refutation of all the false charges made against him on his trial. On its original delivery it had been listened to by the judges of the court, the jury, and the small number of persons who could be accommodated in the Council Chamber of the Old State House, doubtless comprising the ministers of the standing order, their zealous partisans, and some of the warm friends of Mr. Checkley. It was plainly expedient that it should have a wider hearing. It was desirable that the clergy of the Church of England throughout all the English Provinces in America should know the grounds of his prosecution and the nature of his defence. As his application for Holy Orders in the Church of England had not been granted on account of misrepresentations made by certain Puritan ministers and others in Massachusetts Bay, no other document could be placed before Dr. Gibson, the Bishop of London, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which should state so clearly Mr. Checkley's views on the apostolic character of Episcopacy

pacy and his unfeigned loyalty to his soveraign, the King of England. It is not possible to determine with exactness what influence this speech had upon the Bishop of London, but it is sufficient for us to know that Mr. Checkley's next application for Holy Orders was not refused.⁸⁷

A subject which greatly interested Mr. Checkley at this time was the education of his children, of which two only lived to the period of manhood, a son and a daughter.' The daughter married Henry Paget, Esq., an Irish gentleman, a merchant of Providence, a prominent member of King's Church, often one of the Vestry, and Warden in 1761-63.

The son, bearing the same name as the father, was graduated at Harvard College in 1738. His name appears in the catalogue of the Boston Latin School, among those who were probably members, but of which there is no absolute and certain knowledge. While it is highly probable that he was at some stages of his education a member of the Latin School, it is not unlikely that he received instruction from his father, who was doubtless better qualified, especially in the Greek and Latin languages, to prepare his son for Harvard College than any teacher which the Latin School could at that time furnish. After his graduation he gave
several

⁸⁷ The following is the full title of the speech:—

THE SPEECH OF Mr. *John Checkley* UPON HIS TRIAL at *Boston* in NEW-ENGLAND, FOR PUBLISHING the Short and Easy METHOD with the *Deists*: To which was added a Discourse concerning EPISCOPACY; In Defence of

Christianity, and the CHURCH of *England*, against the DEISTS and the DISSENTERS. To which is added: The Jury's Verdict: His Plea in Arrest of Judgment; and the Sentence of Court. LONDON: Printed for J. WILFORD, behind the *Chapter House* in *St Paul's Church-Yard*. 1730.

several years to the study of theology, probably under the direction and tuition of his father. While these studies were going forward, he acted for some time as tutor in the family of the Hon. Daniel Updike, for many years Attorney-General of Rhode Island, and was likewise a member of a literary society in Newport, Rhode Island, established in 1730, while the celebrated Dr. George Berkeley, subsequently Bishop of Cloyne, was a resident, and of which, if he was not the founder, he was doubtless the leading spirit.

In the autumn of 1742 he was residing in Narragansett, Rhode Island, and was perhaps receiving instruction in some department of theological study from the learned Rector of St. Paul's Church, the Rev. Dr. James McSparran.⁸⁸ He repaired to England, and received Deacon's orders in Fullam Chapel, on the 29th day of June, 1744, from the Rt. Rev. Edmund Gibson, D. D., Bishop of London, and in the same place, and by the same prelate, priest's orders, July 8, 1744.⁸⁹

He was assigned a mission by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, at Newark, New Jersey.

He did not survive to return to America, but died of small-pox in London. He is reputed by tradition to have been a young man of promise, of superior abilities, and of many attractive qualities. We cannot overstate the father's profound sense of loss in the death of this only son, at once the pride and hope of his advancing years.

But

⁸⁸ *Vide* note 64, *antæ* p. 78.

⁸⁹ A certified record of his ordination from the archives of the Diocese of London is in the possession of the Editor; he was appointed a missionary of

the Venerable Society for Newark, New Jersey. *Vide Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, p. 854.

But to return to the thread of our narrative. Of Mr. Checkley's business occupations little is definitely known. At times he exported goods to London, and doubtless imported from the same city such commodities as were saleable at the "Crown and Blue-Gate" in Cornhill. He purchased in 1730, probably for investment, a piece of real estate in the northwest part of the town of Boston, near the Mill Pond, which he sold in 1741, at a large advance. In 1733 he sold his house in Cornhill, although it is not unlikely that he continued to occupy it, as long as he resided in Boston.⁹⁰

In 1738, Mr. Checkley again repaired to London, and sought admission to Holy Orders in the Church of England. It was now ten years since his former application had been refused. The active personal opposition of the Congregational ministers, which they claimed had been successful in preventing his entrance to the sacred office had finally died away. As water is the solvent of many substances in nature silently neutralizing them and discharging their poisonous elements, so time mitigates and destroys, or at least renders inactive, personal hostilities, especially when they are founded in passion and not in reason. Mr. Checkley had "lived down" all personal opposition. Dr. Gibson, the Bishop of London, had doubtless read his speech on his trial, published in 1730, and had found him an earnest, true, and faithful defender of the Church of England. He had no longer any wish to thwart his conscientious and noble desire of entering the

⁹⁰ *Vile Suffolk Registry of Deeds*, Boston, for Conveyance of real estate by John Checkley.

the ministry of the church, a desire which had survived unabated through so many years of hatred and persecution. In the month of May, 1738, on a day between the 8th and 19th of that month, he received both Deacon's and Priest's Orders in the Church of England;⁹¹ the University of Oxford hastened to confer upon him the honorary degree of Master of

of

⁹¹ There is a tradition that Mr. Checkley was ordained by the Bishop of Exeter, and it is probably correct. It was not unusual for the Bishop of London, when his own engagements made it expedient, to appoint some other Bishop to confer orders. The following are instances of this kind. Bishop Seabury received Deacon's Orders from the Bishop of Lincoln, and his Priest's Orders from the Bishop of Carlisle; Bishop White received his Deacon's Orders from the Bishop of Norwich; Bishop Provoost received his Priest's Orders from the Bishop of Chester; Bishop Jarvis received his Deacon's Orders from the Bishop of Chester, and his Priest's Orders from the Bishop of Carlisle, all acting for the Bishop of London. The records of the Diocese of London, of Oxford, and of Ely have been carefully examined at the instance of the editor; and likewise by the kind offices of Mr. C. F. Pascoe, keeper of the Records of the Venerable Society, enquiries have been made at the Diocesan Registrar's office of Canterbury and at the Lambeth Palace Library, and no record of his ordination has been found. It seems therefore not unlikely that he was ordained by the Bishop of Exeter by the request of the Bishop of London, and by some misunderstanding no record was made in either Diocese. Thus the evidence stands in this not very important matter: That he was ordained in May, 1738, on some

day between the 8th and the 19th of that month inclusive, is matter of record. In the records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, for April 21, 1738, the Society "agreed to revive the mission at Providence, the people there having built a house and settled a glebe for an Episcopal Minister, and to appoint Mr. Checkley Missionary there, when in Priest's Orders." *Journal*, Vol. VII. p. 231. At the next meeting, on the 19th of May, 1738, is the following record: "The Rev. Mr. Checkley laid before the Board his Priest's Orders, which were approved of." and he was "appointed Missionary at Providence in New England." *Journal*, Vol. VII. p. 248.

The following is from the Records of the Diocese of London: —

I. John Checkley to be admitted to perform the Ministerial office in Providence in New England do willingly and from my heart subscribe to the three articles prefixed and comprized in ye thirty sixth canon and also to the thirty nine Articles of Faith and Religion of the Church of England and to all things therein contained this 8th day of May in the year of our Lord 1738.

JNO CHECKLEY.

It thus appears that he was not in Orders on the 8th, but was on the 19th, of May, and consequently was ordained, as we have already stated, during the period intervening between those two dates.

of Arts, and on the 19th of that month the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts appointed him a missionary at Providence, Rhode Island, "with a salary of £60 a year, to commence from Lady Day last," which was the 25th day of March, 1738.

He lingered some months in England attending to various personal matters of business. During his stay in London, he issued a second edition of his speech upon his trial for publishing a discourse concerning Episcopacy, in defence of Christianity and the Church of England, with the jury's verdict, his plea in arrest of judgment, and the sentence of the court.

Mr. Checkley's appointment to Providence, Rhode Island, was eminently satisfactory to him as well as to the members of King's Church, now St. John's, of which he became Rector. No field on the continent of America could have been selected better suited to his varied qualifications, or which he would himself have preferred to this. It was little more than a day's journey to his old home and many friends in Boston. The Rev. Mr. Honyman of Newport, and the Rev. Dr. McSparran at North Kingston, then known as Narragansett, both old and tried friends, were to be his nearest neighbors. The whole Province of Rhode Island was a missionary field, ripe and ready for the reaper's sickle. All these were attractive features in the opening prospect, and especially the latter, as Mr. Checkley's whole life had been deeply imbued with the missionary spirit.

Services in King's Church, Providence, had been held with more or less regularity for the last seventeen years. A church had been erected, and a parsonage, on a glebe of
eighteen

eighteen or more acres, had been provided for the Rector.⁹² The parish, however, at that time was small, and its means exceedingly limited. When the news reached them that the Venerable Society in England had provided a Rector for them, contributing a large part of the means necessary for his support, their hearts were touched with gratitude and filled with joy. They immediately transmitted a memorial to the Society, bearing date May 4, 1739, conveying their "most unfeigned thanks" for the appointment of the Rev. Mr. Checkley to officiate to them, "than whom no man," they add, "was more desired, and they do not doubt but that he will answer the expectation of all good men concerning him." Mr. Checkley entered upon his duties in May, 1739,⁹³ and on the November following he wrote to the Venerable Society that "his congregation received him with joy;" that he was deeply engaged in his work, and had already baptized thirteen persons; and, outside of the parish lines, was giving attention to the instruction both of Indians and Negroes. Although in age he had nearly reached the limit of threescore years, he began at once, and continued for a complete decade, to visit many outlying posts, nothing daunted by the miry bogs, tangled fens, and pathless forests through

⁹² The Rev. Mr. Checkley's predecessors in King's, now St. John's, Church, Providence, were the Rev. George Pigot, the Rev. Mr. Charro, and the Rev. Arthur Browne.

⁹³ In the abstracts of the *Proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, on the 16th of February, 1738-9, occurs the following:—

The Society hath sent the Reverend Mr. Checkley, lately admitted into Holy

Orders in *England*, upon the Recommendation of the Clergy of *New-England*, to the Mission at *Providence*, and there are good Hopes of his doing considerable Service there from his being a Native of the Country, from his great Skill in the neighbouring *Indian* Language, and from his long Acquaintance with the *Indians* themselves: and it is to be hoped Mr. Checkley is by this time happily arrived at his Mission. *Vide Report*, pp. 42-3.

through which his journeys led. He held, at appointed periods, monthly services at Warwick on the south, and at Attleborough on the north. At the request of the Rev. Roger Price, Rector of King's Chapel in Boston, and Commissary of the Bishop of London, he sometimes held services and preached at Taunton, twenty miles distant from Providence, to congregations of more than three hundred persons, some of whom, he had reason to believe, were never before in any place of Christian worship.

Mr. Checkley at an early period, when a layman in Boston, conceived a very deep interest in the welfare of the aborigines of the country, and at that time made one or two journeys of inspection and investigation, and devoted much time in learning their language. Now, as a Christian teacher and consecrated minister of Christ, his interest in them was strengthened and enlarged. He visited them in their distant homes; he expounded the New Testament in their own language; preached the gospel, revealing to them its marvellous power upon the heart and life of man, and thus from his lips they heard of "the wonderful works of God" in the tongue wherein they were born. Among other places, he visited their wigwams along the banks of the Quinnebaug,⁹⁴ becoming

⁹⁴ On the northern borders of Connecticut, in Tolland and Windsor Counties, several small streams rise, flowing northward, crossing the State line into Massachusetts, becoming confluent with others in Brimfield and Sturbridge, and at length swell into an important stream in Southbridge, which flowing on in an easterly and southerly direction, passing through the town of Dudley, again enters the State of Connecticut, and con-

tinuing generally in a southern direction with many angles, windings, and curves, after a course of thirty-five miles, uniting with the Shetucket from the northwest, it soon loses itself in the tide-waters of the Thames at the city of Norwich. This is the Quinnebaug River. A hundred and fifty or two hundred years ago, the shores of this stream were inhabited by a subordinate tribe of Indians called the *Quinnebaugs*.
They

becoming familiar with their ways of living and thinking, shedding what spiritual light he could into their dark and uninstructed minds. These journeys were no holiday excursions. They were made at the expense of toil, of weariness, and sometimes of hunger. It must have been a pathetic and touching spectacle to see the venerable and ardent missionary, with locks white with the frosts of sixty-five winters, mounting his horse and threading his way through the crooked and half-trodden paths of the wilderness, seeking out these children of the forest to tell them the simple but enchanting story of the cross, of redemption from sin in Christ, of a life beyond this where there is peace and purity and blessedness forever.

These journeys and visits to outlying posts were always made on secular days. On Sundays Mr. Checkley was conscientiously devoted to his work in King's Church in Providence, which yielded steady and gratifying fruits.

Besides official, clerical duties, Mr. Checkley found time to give instruction to several young men who, from time to time, were placed under his care.

It is to be regretted that no manuscripts, either sermons or letters, written in the later years of his life, are, so far as we are aware, now extant. The twenty or more letters written during the five years from 1720 to 1725 inclusive, contained in another part of this work, show very clearly his literary tastes, his devout character, the high purposes and aims

They were thinly scattered over a comparatively large territory, were mild and unwarlike, living upon the products of the soil, the chase, and the fish which they took from this river. Mr. Checkley states that "he found a greater number

of people in the woods than he could have imagined, destitute of all religion, and as living without God in the world; that he had visited the Indians upon Quinnebaug River, and was in hopes of doing some good among them." *Vide Abstracts*

aims of his life.⁹⁵ His private library, for a New England parish minister, was large for that period, numbering not much less than a thousand volumes.⁹⁶ It abounded in folios and quartos, in works in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, and other languages, and indicated somewhat the extent of his scholarship and the breadth of his learning.

Mr. Checkley's education at Oxford in his early youth, his visits to England in 1722, in 1727, and likewise in 1738, where at each visit he lingered several months, gave him a wide acquaintance, both in the Universities and in London, with distinguished and learned men. These acquaintances were mutually maintained for many years. Among these friends and associates were the Rev. Dr. Zachary Grey, the learned editor of "Hudibras";⁹⁷ the Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Marshall, translator of the works of St. Cyprian;⁹⁸ the Rev. Dr. Thomas

Abstracts of the Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for 1744.

⁹⁵ In the *Memoirs of the Rhode Island Bar*, by Wilkins Updike, Esq., it is stated that the Rev. John Checkley was a member of a Literary Society in Newport out of which sprang the Redwood Library. This appears to have been a mistake. The association referred to was a local society, and its rules could not be complied with by one living as far distant as Providence. John Checkley, Jr., was a member of that Society. *Vide Annals of the Redwood Library*, by George Champlin Mason, Newport, 1891, p. 18.

⁹⁶ In the inventory of Mr. Checkley's property may be found 42 folios, 55 quartos, 242 octavos, 187 duodecimos, and a large number of books in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, and other languages, of various sizes, from folios to twenty-four-mos. From the valuation

of this miscellaneous lot we estimate that it contained 400 volumes, which would make the whole number in the library 926 volumes besides pamphlets, and the 450 copies of *Leslie's Short and Easy Method with the Deists*.

⁹⁷ Dr. Grey died in 1766, in the 79th year of his age. He was educated at the University of Cambridge, and was Vicar of St. Peter's and St. Giles's. His elaborate annotations of *Hudibras* gave value and permanent historical interest to that satirical poem. He was a voluminous writer, largely of a controversial and critical character. Mr. Nichols gives 33 titles, which are only a part of his publications. *Vide Literary Anecdotes*, by John Nichols, Vol. II. pp. 532-49.

⁹⁸ Dr. Marshall was Canon of Windsor. Besides his translation of St. Cyprian, he published several volumes of sermons.

Thomas Bennet, the author of many theological treatises; ⁹⁹ the Rev. Dr. William Delaune, Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford; ¹⁰⁰ the Rev. Robert Mofs, the eloquent and accomplished Dean of Ely; ¹⁰¹ Sir Francis Nicholson, ¹⁰² and many others. It is to be regretted that very little of his correspondence has been preserved. That he highly valued the friendship of these distinguished men is apparent from his frequent allusion to them in the fragments of his letters which still exist. How long he kept up his acquaintance after he took orders and entered upon his ministerial work is unknown. In the later years of his life many of them had died; and after reaching threescore years, with all its absorbing duties, it is hardly probable that new associations were formed.

At the end of ten years of his ministry, infirmities began to creep upon the aged missionary, and to admonish him that the work which he had done so faithfully, with so much pleasure to himself and benefit to others, was now approaching its end.

For

⁹⁹ Dr. Bennet was born about 1673, and died in 1728, was educated at the University of Cambridge. He published works on the Sacraments, Schism, Liturgies, on the 39 Articles, a confutation of Popery, and likewise of Quakerism, and he also published Annotations upon the Book of Common Prayer.

¹⁰⁰ Dr. Delaune was the author of several volumes of sermons.

¹⁰¹ Dr. Mofs was born about 1666 and died in 1729. Dr. Zachary Grey published a Memoir with his collected works in 8 volumes. — *Allibone*. Dr. Timothy Cutler of Boston in a letter to Dr.

Grey says of the sermons of Dr. Mofs "their reputation must last as long as that of Learning, Eloquence, or Religion." An epitome of Dr. Grey's memoir is given in *Nichol's Literary Anecdotes*, Vol. IV. pp. 223-39.

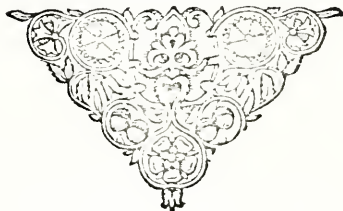
¹⁰² Sir Francis Nicholson, when Governor of Massachusetts, held a commission tantamount to that of commissary, as will be seen by reference to Dr. F. W. P. Greenwood's *History of King's Chapel*, Boston, pp. 76-78. *Vide also Historical Collection of the American Colonial Church in Massachusetts*, edited by Bishop W. S. Perry, pp. 660-1. *Vide antea* p. 40, n. 36.

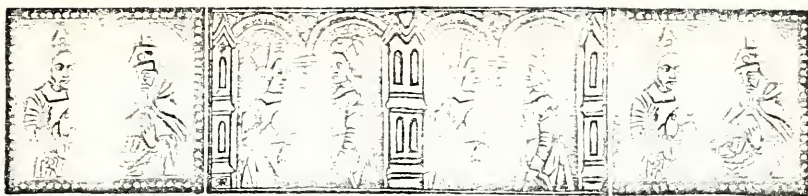
For many lingering months he was the subject of a wearisome and hopeless illness. During the last two years of his life he was wholly disabled, and performed none of the duties of his sacred office. The neighboring clergy, moved by a warm, tender, and generous sympathy, hastened to offer and render to the parish and its devoted Rector such service as they could.¹⁰³ Tardily and gently the sands of life passed away. The end came at last. He died in the little parsonage of King's Church in Providence on the 15th day of February, 1754.¹⁰⁴ Thus ended the earthly career of a true lover and heroic champion of the Church of England, a friend of the too much neglected Indian, a learned scholar, and a faithful and self-consecrated Minister of Christ.

¹⁰³ Besides the neighboring clergy, the Rev. James Orem, chaplain of His Majesty's ship *Yasan*, officiated several months. He was first a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Bristol, Rhode Island, where he remained a year, 1721-2, and was then appointed a chaplain, and removed to New York. *Vide History of the*

Narragansett Church, by Wilkins Updike, pp. 409, 434; also *Digest of Records of the Venerable Society*, p. 853.

¹⁰⁴ *Vide Letter of Wardens of King's Church*, March 4, 1754, in *History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett*, by Wilkins Updike, pp. 410-11.





THE WILL
OF THE
REV. JOHN CHECKLEY.



IN the name of God, Amen. I, John Checkley of Providence in the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England, Clerk, caling to mind the uncertainty of Human life, do make this my last Will and Testament, Principally and first of all, I recommend my sole unto the hands of Almighty God, hoping for the forgiveness of my sins and eternal Life through the infinite merits and satisfaction of Iesus Christ, my Saviour and Redeemer. My body I commit to the earth, to be decently interred at the discretion of my executrix hereafter named. As to my worldly goods, I will and dispose of them in manner following.

Imprimis, my will is that all my just debts be paid as soon as conveniently they may by my executrix.

Item. I give and bequeath unto my granddaughter Anne Paget the sum of twenty pounds to be paid by my executrix

executrix upon the day of my said granddaughter's marriage, or arriving to the age of twenty one years.

Item. I give and bequeath unto my granddaughter, Rebekah Paget, the sum of twenty pounds to be paid by my executrix upon the day of my said granddaughter's marriage, or arriving at the age of twenty one years.

I give, bequeath and devise unto Rebeckah, my beloved wife, her heirs and assigns forever, all my lands in Providence aforesaid, and all other my estate real and personal wheresoever it be, or of what kind soever it be, and I do hereby constitute and appoint my said wife, Rebeckah, sole executrix. of this my last will and testament, and hereby revoke all other and former wills by me at any time made. I do declare this to be my last will and testament; In witness whereof I have hereto set my hand and seal this fifteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty two, and in the twenty seventh year of the reign of his Majesty George the second, of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, defender of the faith, &c.

Signed, sealed, published and declared by the beforenamed John Checkley to be his last will and testament in the presence of us,

JOHN MERRIT,

SAMUEL MILLER,

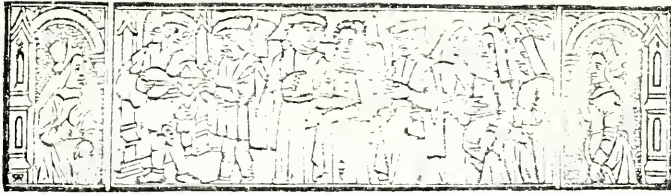
EBENEZER MILLER.¹⁰⁵

JN^o CHECKLEY

SEAL.

¹⁰⁵ Samuel and Ebenezer Miller were undoubtedly the brothers of Mrs. Checkley. The former was a gentleman of prominence in Milton, Massachusetts; and the latter was the Rev. Dr. Miller,

Rector of Christ Church, Braintree, now Quincy. *Vide antea*, p. 12, also the *History of Milton*, for some account of the Miller family.



INVENTORY.



AN INVENTORY of the Personal Estate of the Rev^d Mr JOHN CHECKLEY of Providence, who Died the 15th day of February A. D. 1754, which exhibited to and approved by us the subscribers as follows viz :—

<i>In back Study</i> : 2 Chefts & 2 boxes & one square table	£4 — 0 — 0
2 small boxes, with fishing geer & Indian Toys ¹⁰³	
& fom fishing rods	2 — 0 — 0
<i>In the front study</i> ; 116 Glafs Bottles	12 — 0 — 0
Other glafs and Earthern ware	2 — 0 — 0
A box with money weights & scales	2 — 0 — 0
Lead & tin canifters	1 — 0 — 0
A cafe of 12 bottles	3 — 0 — 0
A Chyrurgian faw 3 powder horns & 2 pairs of shears	3 — 0 — 0
2 Pair of Piftols £3. 2 Guns £25	50 — 0 — 0
2 old Swords & 2 cannes	2 — 0 — 0
	One

¹⁰³ Mr. Checkley was something of an archæologist, and took a great interest in Indian implements and relics. There is a tradition in the family that he exchanged his gold watch for the wardrefts of King Philip, his war-club, belt,

and pipe. These were kept in the family till 1842, when they were loaned to a Mr. Robbins, a member of the Connecticut Historical Society, where they are said still to remain.

One cutlas & several Belts	£2 — 0 — 0
One pair of scales & weights	2 — 0 — 0
3 time Glaffes 20/- & one Hammer 10/	1 — 10 — 0
One other sword belt	2 — 0 — 0
Old casks & boxes 40/ & box of old iron £5	7 — 0 — 0
<i>In the back room ;</i> One Low case of Drawers	5 — 0 — 0
Two tables & one Joint Stool	11 — 0 — 0
4 chairs	2 — 0 — 0
One pair of handirons & Chimney Backs &c	6 — 0 — 0
2 pair of bellows 30/- one pair of tongs 10	2 — 0 — 0
2 wicker Hampers	2 — 0 — 0
1 fether bed and Furniture	60 — 0 — 0
1 Desk	3 — 0 — 0
1 Shagreen case with knives & forks	5 — 0 — 0
One Medal of Count Staremberg in silver	12 — 15 — 0
1 Silver Snuff box with gilt crucifix &c ¹⁰⁷	50 — 5 — 0
1 Looking Glafs	60 — 0 — 0
1 Brafs Globe for a steeple	5 — 0 — 0
2 cane arm chairs £10. 4 other chairs £4.	14 — 0 — 0
2 brushes	1 — 0 — 0
1 pair of Hand Irons, shovel, tongs & Iron backs	10 — 0 — 0
1 Large silver spoon & 2 Do TeaSpoons	4 — 0 — 0
China & Glafs Ware in the Beufett	20 — 0 — 0
1 pair Tobacco Tongs & 3 table cloaths	9 — 10 — 0
<i>Chamber N^o 1. ;</i> 1 Feather & furniture	61 — 0 — 0
4 chairs & one Table	2 — 0 — 0
<i>Chamber N^o 2:</i> one feather bed & Furniture	50 — 0 — 0
1 seal-skin Trunk 30/- 2 chairs 10/	2 — 0 — 0
<i>in Chamber N^o 3 ;</i> 1 bed and Furniture	20 — 0 — 0
2 chairs 10/ 1 ches. 20/-	1 — 10 — 0
<i>In the Kitchin ;</i> Pewter £50. coper £40. Brass £20	110 — 0 — 0
Iron ware £25. warming pans £4.	29 — 0 — 0

1 pair

¹⁰⁷ The "Silver Snuff-box with gilt crucifix &c," is still extant, and is in the possession of the Rev. Frederick Porter Winne, of Watertown, N. Y., a descendant of the Rev. John Checkley in the sixth generation.

1 pair of cast Dogs £3. Wooden ware £5	£8 — 0 — 0
<i>In ye Dairyroom</i> ; one fwivel Gun, 1 saddle & bridle & two leather buckets	10 — 0 — 0
<i>In the yard</i> : one grindstone	2 — 0 — 0
<i>In the kitchen chamber</i> ; a quantity of corn	6 — 0 — 0
<i>In the back-room</i> ; one Feather bed and furniture	60 — 0 — 0
1 Low Chest of Drawers	5 — 0 — 0
1 Table & 2 chairs 50/- 1 looking glafs £5	7 — 10 — 0
Six pair of sheets & six pillow caſes	10 — 0 — 0
Wearing apparel	100 — 0 — 0
<i>In ye cellar</i> ; Six barels of Cyder, ſom proviſions, caſks &c	30 — 0 — 0
3 Cows £30, £90, two mares £230	320 — 0 — 0
2 old Chairs & Harneſſes	100 — 0 — 0
1 Microſcope £20, 1 Teleſcope £20	40 — 0 — 0
1 Coharn (<i>churn</i> ?) £5, a neſt of Braſs weight £3	8 — 0 — 0
1 hors cart &c	20 — 0 — 0
Books: viz 42 Volumes in folio	100 — 0 — 0
55 Volumes in quarto	27 — 10 — 0
242 Volumes in Octavo	240 — 0 — 0
187 Volumes in Duodecimo	100 — 0 — 0
Pamphlets in groſs	20 — 0 — 0
450 Volumes Short method with ye Deiſts	125 — 0 — 0
A large quantity of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French &c Books from fol to 24to ¹⁰³	200 — 0 — 0

92 pieces

¹⁰³ It would be interesting to know the titles of the books. The 450 volumes of the *Short and Easy Method with the Deiſts* were probably given away or ſold ſome years after the ſettle- ment of the eſtate. The Rev. Noah Welles, of Stamford, now written Stam- ford, Connecticut, who published a dif- courſe againſt Episcopacy in 1763. ſays: "It is reported that among other pieces

of that kind, the diſcourſe concerning episcopacy annexed to the *ſhort method with the deiſts*, published in Bolton about 40 years ago, and ſold by one JOHN CHECKLEY; which received ſun- dry anſwers when it firſt appeared, has been very indultriouſly handed about of late among the episcopalians in this part of the country."

Memoir of

92 pieces of paint (<i>prints?</i>), Grate & Small . . .	£26 — 0 — 0
One Gold Ring set with six stones cofs fashing (<i>cross fashion?</i>) one castal (<i>crystal?</i>) and the other five Brilliant Dimonds ; more books discovered . . .	40 — 0 — 0
	<u>£2530 — 5 — 0</u>

The above Inventory was begun the 18 & 19th Days of March 1754 and completed ye 17th day of May next following by us the Subscribers

GEO. TAYLOR

JOHN COLE

The above written Inventory was at the town Council held at Providence on ye 27th day of May A. D. 1754, Examined, proved, approved, and allowed

Teste RICHARD WATERMAN

Clerk of the Council.

Recorded ye 29th of May 1754

per RICHARD WATERMAN, Clerk.

NOTE. — Beside the personal estate included in this inventory, the Rev. John Checkley left the following parcels of real estate in Providence, purchased as follows:—

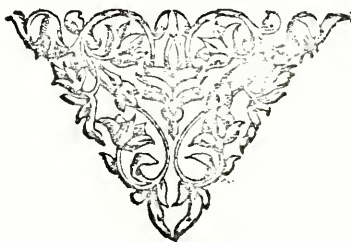
June 22, 1743. Twenty-two acres in Providence, at a place called the Neck, which cost	£400 0 0
Nov. 24, 1744. Between six and seven acres adjoining the land already purchased by him at the Neck, for which he paid	£201 18 9
April 26, 1745. Mr. Checkley purchased an estate on Town Street, having frontage of 70 feet, with a house on it, for the sum . . .	£1180 0 0
Dec. 14, 1750. Mr. Checkley and Henry Paget purchased of Joseph Whipple of New-	

port

John Checkley.

port two acres more or less in Providence Co., now Lincoln, R. I.	£300	0	0
April 7, 1746. The Rev. John Checkley fold to Henry Paget the estate purchased the year before for the same sum paid for it, viz. . . .	£1180	0	0
June 4, 1760. Rebecca, widow of the Rev. John Checkley, fold half of a wood-lot which her husband had of Hofannah Brown . . .	£350	0	0
From the above it appears that Mr. Checkley's real estate in Providence, at the valuation of the purchase and sales, amounted to the sum of	£1101	18	9

The Scrivener must be responsible for the orthography of many words both in the Will and the Inventory.





THE CHECKLEY FAMILY.



HE parents of the Rev. John Checkley resided in Boston, were of English nationality, and in sufficiently affluent circumstances to give their son a somewhat expensive education both in this country and in England, supplemented by extensive travel on the continent of Europe. Beyond this the usual sources yield no information. There were other families bearing the name of Checkley in Boston, prominent in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, but no relationship with that of the Rev. John Checkley has been traced. The Rev. John Checkley was born in Boston, in 1680. A pretty full account of his life and career will be found in the earlier pages of this work. He married Rebecca, daughter of Samuel Miller, of Milton, Mass., May 28, 1713. She died in Providence, R. I., and was buried Nov. 27, 1775. Her husband, the Rev. Mr. Checkley, died on the 15th day of February, 1754, in the parsonage of King's Church, situated on a glebe of eighteen acres, on Providence Neck, near Swan Point Cemetery and Butler Hospital, being about a mile and a half from King's Church, now St. John's,

John's, Providence. The glebe and parsonage came into possession of the parish in 1734, and were occupied by Mr. Checkley during his entire rectorship. The property was sold in 1794, but the old parsonage is still standing. The Rev. Mr. Checkley "was buried in front of the Old Church, between it and the street," and it is highly probable that his wife was buried near him. In 1810, "when the earth was removed at the building of the new church, all the graves there disappeared, and the grave-stones also. Whither they were removed is not known. . . . At the building of the new church nearly a cart-load of old grave-stones were destroyed, or carried away." The above statement is taken from an *Historical Discourse*, by the Rt. Rev. Thomas M. Clark, D.D., June 11, 1872, on the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Parish. It is understood that the statements in this discourse were made after careful investigation, and at that time persons were living who well remembered the old wooden church. The account, therefore, may be regarded as historically correct. *Vide Historical Discourse*, p. 34.

It is a remarkable though discreditable fact, that in the early part of this century there was an extraordinary indifference in regard to the memorials of the dead. The ancient cemeteries were strangely neglected. In some instances the inscribed stones were taken up and planted beneath the surface, thus facilitating the forgetfulness of the living. May we not hope that at no distant day a marble or bronze slab may be placed on the walls of St. John's Church, with an inscription memorial of the Rev. John Checkley, M.A., its able, learned, and faithful Rector from the beginning to the end of his ministry?

The children of the Rev. John Checkley and his wife Rebecca were as follows:—

1. Debora, daughter of the Rev. John Checkley, was born Oct. 13, 1717; she died April 15, 1793; she married Henry Paget, Esq., an Irish gentleman of Providence, R. I. He was born April 15, 1715, and died Jan. 15, 1772. He was a merchant, and an active and prominent member of King's Church, Providence. He was often appointed on important committees, was sometime one of the vestry, and was Warden, 1761-63.
2. John, son of the Rev. John Checkley, was baptized in King's Chapel, Boston, Oct. 20, 1719. He graduated at Harvard College in 1738, took orders in the Church of England in 1744, and died in London soon after of small-pox. *Vide antea*, pp. 106-7.
3. REBECCA, daughter of the Rev. John Checkley, was baptized in King's Chapel, Boston, March 25, 1722. No further information has been obtained, and it is presumed she died young.

It may be here stated that in the records of burials in King's Chapel, Boston, is the name of "Elizabeth Checkley, Oct. 21, 1718." She may have been, and probably was, the daughter of the Rev. John Checkley, born about 1715; this however can only be conjectured.

DEBORA, daughter of the Rev. John Checkley, was born Oct. 13, 1717; she married Henry Paget, Esq., a merchant of Providence, R. I. Their children were as follows:—

1. Anne;

1. Anne; married Capt. Joseph Olney, Jr., of Providence, R. I.
 2. Rebecca; married, 1st, Dr. Joseph Harrison; 2d, Col. George Olney.
 3. Henry John Checkley, born about 1760; was buried Oct. 10, 1760, aged 10 years.
 4. Angelica, born about 1754; was buried Sept. 28, 1760, aged 6 years.
-

ANNE, daughter of Debora Checkley and Henry Paget; married Capt. Joseph Olney, Jr., of Providence, R. I., Nov. 28, 1762. On the 22d of December, 1775, Congress appointed, among other naval officers, Joseph Olney as a second lieutenant. He was subsequently commissioned as a captain. Was not this the Capt. Joseph Olney, Jr., above mentioned? *Vide History of the Navy*, by J. Fenimore Cooper, Vol. I. pp. 102, 162 *et alibi*.

Their children were as follows, all of whom were baptized in King's Church, now St. John's, Providence:—

1. Rebecca, baptized March 17, 1765; married Dr. Henry Malcolm.
2. Sarah, baptized May 11, 1766; married Col. James Waller Head.
3. Angelica, baptized April 10, 1768; married the Hon. Ezekiel Gilbert.
4. Anne Checkley, baptized Oct. 14, 1770; married, 1st, John Shipboy, 2d, William MacBeth.
5. Henry Paget, born June 9, 1774; baptized July 31, 1774; died March 20, 1809.
6. Joseph, baptized Aug. 27, 1777. He is said to have settled in Tennessee.

REBECCA, daughter of Debora Checkley and Henry Paget, married, 1st, June 2, 1776, Dr. Joseph Harrifon, a physician and furgeon of Providence, R. I. Their daughter, Sufannah Harrifon, was baptized in King's Church, April 27, 1777. Dr. Harrifon died intestate, and his widow was granted adminiftration on his eftate July 20, 1778. Tradition fays "fhe married 2^d Col George Olney and had two children, *Ruth* and *George* neither of whom married." In the Records of King's, now St. John's, Church, Providence, is the following: "Ruth Paget, daughter of George Olney, baptized January 21, 1779." The record thus confirms the tradition that George Olney had a daughter, Ruth, and thereby ftrengthens the tradition that he had a fon, George. Was not this fon the fame George Olney who was prominent in St. John's Church when the new church was erected in 1810? More extenfive investigation might decide this queftion. *Vide Hiftory of the Narragansett Church*, by Wilkins Updike, pp. 419, 430 *et alibi*.

The defcendants of Anne Paget, granddaughter of the Rev. John Checkley and wife of Capt. Joseph Olney, Jr., are numerous. It will not be poffible to give a full genealogical account of them in this Memoir. Names and dates have been given when it was practicable to do fo. Each of the four daughters of Anne Paget and Capt. Joseph Olney, Jr., and their refpective defcendants, will be treated feperately, in the order of their births.

REBECCA, the eldeft daughter of Anne Paget and Capt. Joseph Olney, baptized in King's Church, Providence, R. I., March 17, 1765, married Dr. Henry Malcolm, who was born Dec. 12, 1756. He was a furgeon in the war of the
 Revolution,

Revolution, and we are informed by one of his descendants that he served on the ship *Columbus*, Capt. Abraham Whipple, and likewise on the ship *Andrea Doria*, Capt. Nicholas Biddle. He also served with Dr. William Shippen in the Medical Department of the Army. After the close of the war, he removed to Hudson, N. Y., where he passed the remainder of his life in the practice of his profession. He died April 18, 1831. Their children were as follows:—

1. Donald, born Feb. 7, 1784; married Ermine Hawkins.
2. Margaretta Ward, born Jan. 14, 1787; died young.
3. Anne Paget, born Oct. 13, 1789; m. 1st, George Clinton Hamilton, 2d, Frederick Porter.
4. Angelica, born March 30, 1792; married Joseph Gibbons Malcolm.
5. Amelia, born April 13, 1794; died unmarried.
6. Henry, born June 9, 1796; died unmarried.
7. William, born Feb. 18, 1800; died in New Orleans, unmarried.
8. Robert Muncton, born July 20, 1802. He is said to have been married, but no further information has been obtained.
9. Margaretta Ward, born Nov. 25, 1805.

1. DONALD, born Feb. 7, 1784; married Ermine Hawkins, and had (1) Jane, who married William Winne, of New York, whose descendants are said to reside in New York City, (2) Emma, (3) Mary, (4) Maria, (5) George, (6) Angelica.

2. ANNE PAGET, born Oct. 13, 1789, who died in October, 1853; married, 1st, George Clinton Hamilton, a lawyer of Hudson,

Hudson, N. Y. He died Nov. 27, 1820, at the age of 30 years. Their only daughter, Elizabeth Gregg Hamilton, born June 12, 1812, died July 9, 1838, married Maj. James Winne. Their eldest son is the Rev. Frederick Porter Winne, a minister of Trinity Church, Watertown, in the Diocese of Central New York. His son, John Checkley Winne, organist in the Cathedral of the Diocese of Arkansas, died Oct. 3, 1891. A window has been placed to his memory in the Cathedral at Little Rock. The Rev. Mr. Winne's daughter Elizabeth Hamilton resides in Watertown, N. Y.

The second son of Elizabeth Gregg Hamilton Winne is George Clinton Hamilton Winne, who with several children resides in Albany, N. Y.; namely, Mrs. Frederick J. Wing, Mrs. William J. Bogardus, Mr. Harrie Bell Winne, and Miss Carrie Winne.

ANNE PAGET (Malcolm), born Oct. 13, 1789, married, 2d, Frederick Porter, a merchant of Albany, N. Y., who died in 1853. They had Henry Malcolm, and Maria Lawrence, who married Charles Schoolcraft, of Albany, and had John L. and William. John L. Schoolcraft was a lawyer of note in Adrian, Mich. Mrs. Schoolcraft married, 2d, Dr. Laird, a physician, who died in Adrian, Mich., where Mrs. Laird and her children still reside.

ANGELICA, daughter of Rebecca Olney and Dr. Henry Malcolm, born March 30, 1792; married at Hudson, N. Y., Nov. 8, 1813, her cousin, Joseph Gibbons Malcolm, of Philadelphia, who was born Feb. 15, 1785. Their children were as follows:—

1. Esther Barton, born Oct. 1, 1818; married John Lloyd.
2. Angelica

2. Angelica Gilbert, born Nov. 19, 1820; married William Ryan, and had Angelica, who married Sylvanus Miller Davidfon.
3. John Gibbons, born Nov. 3, 1824.
4. Robert Muncton, born April 6, 1827; resides in Moline, Illinois, and has eight children.
5. Henry, born April 6, 1827. Twin with preceding.
6. Jane, born August 31, 1829.
7. William, born Dec. 24, 1831.

ESTHER BARTON, daughter of Angelica Malcolm and Joseph Gibbons Malcolm, born Oct. 1, 1818; married John Lloyd, of Philadelphia, and had:—

1. Malcolm, who married Anna Howell, and had (1) Howell, (2) Malcolm, (3) Stacy Bancroft, (4) Francis Vernon, (5) Anna, (6) Esther Malcolm, (7) Mary Carpenter.
2. Ifaac, not married.
3. Elizabeth Gibbons, not married.
4. Estelle Barton married Henry Troth Coates, Publisher, of Philadelphia.
5. John, not married.
6. Anne Morris married William Morrison Coates, and had (1) Esther Malcolm, (2) Samuel, (3) Benjamin, (4) John Lloyd, (5) Helen Langdale.
7. Laura married George Morrison Coates, and had (1) Eliza, (2) Eleanor Percy, (3) Mary, (4) Malcolm Vernon, (5) Laura Lloyd, (6) Edward Osborne.
8. Emma Malcolm, married S. Ashton Souder, and had (1) Edmund Lloyd, (2) Donald Malcolm, (3) Ashton, (4) Thatcher.

9. Mary Bancroft, married Norman Mariott Jones, and had (1) Lloyd Pennifon, (2) Ethel Mariott, (3) Edwin Olney.

The above descendants of Esther Barton Malcolm and John Lloyd are residents of Philadelphia, Penn.

SARAH, the second daughter of Anne Paget and Capt. Joseph Olney; baptized May 11, 1766, and died Dec. 7, 1804; married Col. James Waller Head, of Warren, Me. He was born in Boston in 1766, and baptized in Trinity Church in that city, July 5, 1766. He was apprenticed in his youth to "Clark and Nightingale," merchants of Providence, R. I. On reaching his majority in 1787, he settled as a merchant in Warren, Me. He conducted a large business in dry and West India goods, in lumber, and to some extent in shipbuilding and commerce. During his residence in Providence he became attached to Miss Sarah Olney, and they were married May 16, 1788. He was a magistrate, colonel of a regiment when there were but two in the Province, a delegate to the Convention held in Boston for the ratification of the Constitution of the United States by Massachusetts, while Maine was a part of that State, and was a foremost citizen in the affairs of the town and county. He died in Warren, Aug. 17, 1861. After the death of his wife, Sarah Olney, Col. Head married, 2d, Frances Sandford, and had Thomas Sandford, who died in infancy, and Martha Derby, baptized July 15, 1810; she married John Brooks, of Portland, Oct. 3, 1839, and died Sept. 23, 1840. He was an uncle of the late Bishop Phillips Brooks, of Boston.

The children of Sarah Olney and Col. James Waller Head were as follows:—

1. Angelica Gilbert, born Dec. 1, 1789; married William Hovey.
2. James, born Sept. 24, 1791; married Jerufha Gelston Dwight.
3. Sarah Olney, born June 24, 1794; married Henry Flagg, Sept. 20, 1813.
4. Maria Halfey, born April 22, 1796; married Thomas Gelston Sandford, Sept. 20, 1813.
5. Jean McKenzie, born March 27, 1799; died July 23, 1804.
6. Joseph Olney, born Jan. 20, 1802; he died Sept. 12, 1819, on his passage from Bermuda to his home in Maine.

ANGELICA GILBERT, born Dec. 1, 1789, daughter of Sarah Olney and Col. James Waller Head, married William Hovey, a merchant of Warren, Me., Dec. 3, 1806. Their eldest daughter, Sarah Frances Head, married Thomas Hodgman, a merchant of Warren, and had Frances Maria, Martha Derby Head who died Oct. 1, 1844, and William Hovey. Frances Maria Hodgman married the Hon. Edwin Smith, a Senator of the State of Maine, and had Carrie Emerson and Frances Hodgman, both deceased. William Hovey Hodgman, now of Medford, Mass., married Emeline Augusta Cushman; and their children are Edwin Smith, Sewall Cushman, Percy Herbert, and Fred William.

Angelica Head, second daughter of Angelica Gilbert Head and William Hovey, married her cousin Warren F. Hovey, of East Machias, Me., and had a large family, most of whom died young. Their son, Urban Hitchcock, married
Emma

Emma Miller, of Lincolnville, Me., and left two daughters, Frances Marion Hovey and Josephine Buxton Hovey, who reside in Warren, Me. Julia Hitchcock, daughter of Urban Hitchcock Hovey, married John Miller, of Rockland, Me., and left no issue.

JAMES, the eldest son of Sarah Olney and Col. James Waller Head, born Sept. 24, 1791, resided in Portland, Me., where he died March 30, 1835. He married Jerusha Gelston Dwight, Oct. 5, 1829. Their only child was Ellenore Waller, born Jan. 11, 1832. She married her cousin, Thomas Hovey Sandford, May 3, 1854. He died June 20, 1880. Their children were as follows:—

1. Edith Dwight, born June 4, 1857, in Brooklyn, N. Y. She married in Tōkyō, Japan, December, 1881, 1st, Frederick William Strange, of London, England; he died in 1889. Their children are Frederick Baily, born March 25, 1883, and Ellenore Martha, born Aug. 10, 1884. Mrs. Edith Dwight Strange married, 2d, Capt. Alexander Etienne Bougouin, of Nantes, France, an officer of the French Army. They were married in Tōkyō, Japan, where Capt. Bougouin is at present stationed.
2. Frederick Swift, born in Orange, N. J., May 16, 1862. He married, in January, 1890, Minna Dorothea, daughter of Frederick Ferdinand Bunker, of New York. He resides in Orange Vale, Sacramento Co., California.
3. Parker Dwight, born in Orange, N. J., Dec. 3, 1865; died in Pownal, Me., Oct. 5, 1868.

After the death of her husband, Mrs. Head married, 2d, John Parker Boyd, a lawyer of Portland, Me., and had
Parker

Parker Dwight; Susan Coffin, who married William Cook, a professor in Harvard University; and Mary Dwight, who married Franklin Ripley Barrett.

SARAH OLNEY, second daughter of Sarah Olney and Col. James Waller Head, born June 24, 1794, married Henry Flagg, of Bangor, Sept. 20, 1813. Their children were as follows:—

1. Frances Maria, who married Frederick A. Jarvis, and had (1) Josephine H., who married George C. Folsome, and resides in Wellesley, Mass., (2) Francis P., (3) Sarah J., Wellesley, Mass., (4) Maria Sandford, (5) Anna, (6) Frederic William, Boston, Mass.
2. Henry Joseph, died 1866, in Chicago, Ill.
3. James Head, residence Clarence, Ill.
4. Edmund Webster, died in 1873.
5. William Hovey, resides in Bangor, Me.
6. Arthur French, died in 1891, in Clarence, Ill.

MARIA HALSEY, third daughter of Sarah Olney and Col. James Waller Head; born April 22, 1796; died Feb. 9, 1831; married Thomas Gelston Sandford, of Topsham, Me., Sept. 20, 1813. The following are their children:—

1. James Head, born Aug. 13, 1814; married Dorothy Burton, Oct. 17, 1837. They had *gemini*, James Head and Edward T., born 1840. On the death of his wife he again married, and with a son, George Dwight, removed to Minnesota. The above-named Edward T. Sandford was settled as a Baptist minister in St. Johnsbury, Vt. He removed to California.

2. Thomas

2. Thomas Hovey, second son of Maria Halfey Head and Thomas Gelston Sandford, born in Topsham, Me., April 11, 1816; married, 1st, Caroline Mary Bond, Sept. 6, 1837, and had:—

(1) Adelaide McKenzie, born in Bangor, Me., Dec. 18, 1841; died, unmarried, Oct. 1, 1870.

(2) Lucretia Bond, born May 4, 1844, in Bangor; married, 1st, in Orange, N. J., Aug. 15, 1874, Henry Augustus Howe, of Orange, N. J., residence in Nagasaki, Japan. Their children are Edith Helen, born in Nagasaki, July 30, 1875, and Henry Arnold, born in Tōkyō, Japan, Dec. 12, 1879. After the death of her husband, Mrs. Howe married, 2d, in Tōkyō, Japan, July 8, 1893, Alexander McMillan, of London, England, residing in Tōkyō.

Thomas Hovey Sandford married, 2d, his cousin, Ellenore Waller Head, and had:—

(3) Edith Dwight, born June 4, 1857.

(4) Frederick Swift, born May 16, 1862.

(5) Parker Dwight, born Dec. 3, 1865.

Vide antea, family of James, eldest son of Col. James Waller Head, and Sarah Olney, p. 134.

3. Frances Head, the eldest daughter of Maria Halfey and Thomas Gelston Sandford, born Nov. 12, 1817; married, Sept. 7, 1836, Nehemiah Ordway Pillsbury, of Bangor, Me., and died about 1852, leaving a son, Thomas Sandford Pillsbury.

4. William, born June 30, 1819; died in 1827.

5. Joseph Head, the fourth son of Maria Halfey Head and Thomas Gelston Sandford, born Sept. 17, 1820; died

April 30.

April 30, 1891, in Chelsea, Mass.; married Mary Jane Valentine, of Bangor, Me., July 17, 1843. Their children are:—

- (1) Gelston, born Sept. 19, 1845; died Aug. 11, 1846.
- (2) Joseph Head, born Sept. 27, 1846; married Clara Josephine Elliot, of Everett, Mass., and had Elliot, who married Jan. 11, 1890, Blanche Atkinson, of Temple, Arizona, and they have Violet Blanche, born Dec. 3, 1890, and George Elliot, born Dec., 1893.
- (3) Frank Valentine, born April 13, 1850; married Jennie Gilbert, of Chelsea, Mass., Oct. 12, 1871. Their children are Gertrude Brenkerhoff, Herbert Valentine, Frederick Gilbert, and Grace May.
- (4) Thomas Hovey, born Nov. 13, 1857, died March 4, 1859.
- (5) Minnie Frances, born Nov. 30, 1861, married Francis Green, of New York, Dec. 29, 1887.
6. Gelston, the fifth son of Maria Halfey Head and Thomas Gelston Sandford, born Oct. 12, 1826; died in Warren, November, 1837.
7. Maria Head, second daughter of Maria Halfey Head and Thomas Gelston Sandford, born Dec. 31, 1830, married Henry M. Snell, of Boston, and had Joseph Dix, born Feb. 11, 1864, and Mary Sandford, born Feb. 21, 1870. Mrs. Snell and her son reside in Ashmont, Mass.

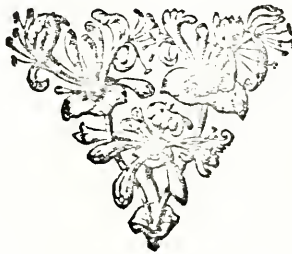
ANGELICA, the third daughter of Anne Paget and Capt. Joseph Olney; baptized, April 10, 1768; married the Hon.

Ezekiel Gilbert, of Hudfon, N. Y. He was a lawyer, and sometime a member of Congress. Their children were: Angelica, William Henry, and Edward. They left no descendants.

ANNE CHECKLEY, fourth daughter of Anne Paget and Capt. Joseph Olney, baptized Oct. 14, 1770, died June 19, 1803. She married, 1st, John Shipboy of Albany, N. Y., he died without issue. She married, 2d, William MacBeth, a native of Scotland; he was a trader and had a store in Warren; he died in Waldoborough, Me., April 25, 1840. Their children were as follows:—

1. Henry, son of Anne Checkley Olney and William MacBeth, married and died in Liverpool, England.
2. Angelica Gilbert, daughter of Anne Checkley Olney and William MacBeth, married Dr. Daniel James, of New Hartford, N. Y., Sept. 26, 1842; she died without issue.
3. Beatrice W., daughter of Anne Checkley Olney and William MacBeth, married Francis Overlock, of Waldoborough, Me., Oct. 27, 1825, and had (1) Olivia Buxton, who married George Fish, of Waldoborough, Me.; she died June 13, 1849. (2) William Henry, who resides in Thomaston, Me. (3) Pelham Francis. (4) Margaret Keizer, who married William Fuller, and resides in North Warren, Me. The names of her children are Frances Beatrice, Fred Oscar, Le Forest, of Fitchburg, Mass.; Mabel Angeline, Laura Anna, of North Warren, Me. (5) Anne Checkley. (6) Angelica Gilbert, who married Sandford Lash, of Waldoborough, Me.

4. Julia, daughter of Anne Checkley Olney and William MacBeth, baptized June 12, 1803, married Edward Manning, of Waldoborough, Me., April 13, 1826. The names of their children are as follows: (1) Angelica; (2) Hannah E.; (3) Maria Sandford; (4) Henry J., married Emily French, and had Henry William and Edward Elworth, res. Roxbury, Mafs.; (5) Mary A., married Domingus Roderick, and had Cora, res. Chelsea, Mafs.; (6) Margaret C., married William Deering, and had Fred W. and George R., res. Topsfield, Mafs.; (7) A. Maria, married Isaac Bray Young, and had Roderick B. and Edward H., res. Topsfield, Mafs.; (8) Beatrice M., married George H. Kirk, and had Mary A. and M. Florence, res. Topsfield, Mafs.; (9) Edward F.; (10) Eliza L., married, 1st, Eben E. Wolton, and had Julia M., Henry D., Cora R., married, 2d, Henry Stone, res. Topsfield.



CHOICE DIALOGUES

BETWEEN A

GODLY MINISTER,

AND AN

HONEST COUNTRY-MAN,

CONCERNING

ELECTION & PREDESTINATION.

Detecting the false Principles of a certain Man, who calls himself a *Presbyter* of the *Church of England*.

By a *Reverend* and *Laborious* Pastor in *Christ's Flock*, by *One* who has been, for almost *twice thirty years*, a *faithful* & *Painful Labourer* in *Christ's Vine-yard*.

For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the Image of his Son, that he might be the first-born among many Brethren. Moreover, whom he did predestinate, them he also called: and whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified. — Rom. 8. 29, 30.



TO THE READER:

DESIRE to premise a few things, concerning the following *Dialogues*, and the Occasion of their Publication. As to the *Dialogues* themselves they contain a rich and precious store of spiritual Knowledge and godly Comfort. They speak to the Hearts of Men in a very easie and familiar manner, so that the meanest *Plough-man*, the very meanest of God's People may understand them. They treat of that deep but comfortable Doctrin, (that *Soul-piercing* Doctrin to the wicked and unregenerate, but *Soul-refreshing* and *Heart-comforting* Doctrin to the Saints, to all righteous and godly Folk;) I mean the Doctrin of *Election* and *Predelination*.

And now as to the Occasion of the Publication of these *Dialogues*. Alas *Christians!* I fear there is too, too great Occasion for them. The many pernicious (and I fear Alas! *Soul-destroying*) Books that have been handed up and down in the *Country* as well as *City*, to poison and debauch Men's Minds, call aloud for these *Dialogues* (or other

other such like Discourses) to rectifie Men's Opinions in these Matters. There have been many wicked Books written (by the instigation of the *Old Serpent* who goes about to deceive) which put false Comments & horrid *Anti-Christian* Glosses upon the *best of Books*, the Fountain of all true and Divine Wisdom. I mean our holy and *precious Bible*. These *Dialogues* will rightly instruct Men concerning the true *Scripture Doctrines* of *Election* and *Predestination*. These, these plain, but *Heart-enlightening Dialogues* will shew Thee (*Christian Reader*) what was the Opinion of the holy *Martyrs* of the Church in the first and purest Ages of *Christianity* concerning these Doctrines; & oh! I am sure we ought to follow them, them I say who were taught the *Faith of Christ* from the Mouthes of the *Apostles* or *apostolick* Men, and dyed glorious *Martyrs* to the Truth; I say we ought to mind what these say, rather than harken to the delusions of the *great Whore*, the *Scarlet Whore*, the *Whore of Babylon*, that great *Anti-Christ*, & others who in later Ages have new-vampt her wicked and *Soul-murthering* Maxims, and have sent them abroad to bewitch the Nations. Oh *Christians!* *Fellow-Christians* and *Protestants!* These are direful Things, ah, these are *Heart-afflicting Matters!* that we shou'd ever hear of them in a *Land of Light!* No, let us not follow these *blind Guides*; who (if we do) will certainly lead us into the Ditch, but as I said before, let us follow the Example of the *primitive Church*, and give Ear to those *pious* and *godly Fathers* of the *Church*, who will teach us the Truth in Sincerity. Here I cannot but take notice of the sad and deplorable Degeneracy of Mankind, who are grown (many of them) to that Height of *malicious scorning* of others who
 happen

happen (tho' *conscientiously*) to dissent from them, that they will neither read the Books publish'd by such Men, nor suffer others to read them, if they can help it: This, this is an *unchristian-like Practice*. This is so unlike the *kind Dealing* which *Christianity* always makes use of, and so like the horrid Practice of the *Synagogue of Rome*, that we *Christians* ought to abhor it. For the *Papishes* will Suffer no Books of the *Protestants* (whom they call *Hereticks*) to be Printed in their Countries, neither will they suffer their *Disciples* (or rather *Slaves*) to read them: I say *Slaves*, because those *Masters* who will not suffer their *Profelytes* to make Enquiry whether the Doctrines they teach them be true or false. They, I say, whom they thus teach, are so far from being *Disciples*, that they are *mean*, they are *servile & abject Slaves*; and utterly *unlike* the *rational Bercans*, who are called *noble* in *Scripture*, for *examining whether those Things were so or not*. The *Scripture* bids us examine *all Things*, and hold fast that which is *best*. But the Meaning of this Exhortation is not, that we shou'd be *forever reading, reading* all Books that are publish'd, for indeed many of them *are not worth the Reading*. Indeed I have hear'd People say that there is scarce one in twenty of the Books written by *Dissenters* that have *common sense* in them. Whether this be true or not, *let the World judge*. But if it be true, *I hope they will take more heed for the future*. But be it true or not true, this I am sure is a true saying, *viz: Wisdom is justified of her Children*. I must say one Word more concerning this Matter, (by way of Apology for their *crude and undigested Notions*) that if the Writings of the *Nonconformists* of all *Denominations* be not quite so *Polite* as the

Works of some others, it may be, *the cause of it is their Writing so much*; for when Men write Books *faster than People can read them*, their Method of reasoning too *being perfectly circular*, and their Motion being so *exceeding quick*, (*Poor Men!*) they can't help being a *little giddy*. But there is another Reason, and a charitable one too. There is a vast Deal of Paper made in that *most christian Country* (in some Men's Esteem) *Holland*, so much that they scarce know what to do with it all; and some Men think it an Act of Charity, not to let any Thing ly upon the Hands of our good *Allies*, and *true Protestant Brethren*, the *Dutch*. Therefore their Charity, with their *Lust after Writing*, forces them to buy it up, and then cram it full of *painfull and Labourious Searches and Re-Searches after the Truth*, and in *Soul-Cherishing and Heart-helping Works of Edification, Recumbency and Regeneration, Mysterious Tractates all!* If what has been said concerning the Writings of *Dissenters* be true, (as some Men say they can make it appear) I hope the *rising Generation* will mend the Matter. And to let Thee see what Hopes thou may'st have of their so doing; I will give Thee some Account of the Parts of some of the *Rising Generation*, who tho' (it must be confest) they are but *Striplings*) yet they are (some of them) *wonderful, wonderful Striplings!* It has been remarked by some of the *Hearers*, that (*oh dear!*) *they can say what they please; that even in publick Prayer to God they can say even what they please;* (and there are some People who think indeed that *they do say what they please*) there be others who can preach a long *Sermon* without using any *Notes*, nay and *preach* three such *Sermons* in one Day. There be others in this *Country* like-
wife,

wife, (but from whence they came, or how they came hither we know not; but no Matter for that, we have them, & *able Men they are*) there be *others* who I say are very extraordinary: whose zeal for *preaching* (if we may believe common Fame) was so great, that they (poor Hearts half starv'd) left their *dear Country*, and *all that they had in the World*, (that is their Packs) to come into *Foreign Parts to Preach*. But there are some (to their Praise be it spoken) who are of an higher *Order* and *Abilities* than these; concerning one of *whom*, one of the *Rising Generation*, there has been lately pronounc'd, by a *celebrated Writer*, a very extraordinary Speech, so extraordinary that I beg leave to transcribe part of it: (the *Quintessence*) it is this, *viz*: —

“*Highly favoured of God*, are the *Churches* enriched with *Pastors* of bright *Abilities*, for the building and serving of his Temple: *Able* to understand the *Sacred Oracles* even in the Languages wherein they are given us, and illustrate them from an intimate Acquaintance with *Antiquity*: . . . *Able* to maintain the Truth with *Armour* fetch'd from the *Tower of David*, and convince or confound *Gainstayers*, that go to perplex us with their *Controversies*.”¹⁰⁹

Here (I beseech ye) let me advise *Gainstayers* to take heed
how

¹⁰⁹ This extract is from a speech by the Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather, on giving the right hand of fellowship to the Rev. Thomas Prince, A.M., at his ordination in the Old South Church in Boston, Oct. 1, 1718. Mr. Prince preached the sermon on the occasion, and Dr. Increase Mather gave a charge. The whole proceedings were published. The extract refers to the Rev. Thomas Walter, a young man of unusual prom-

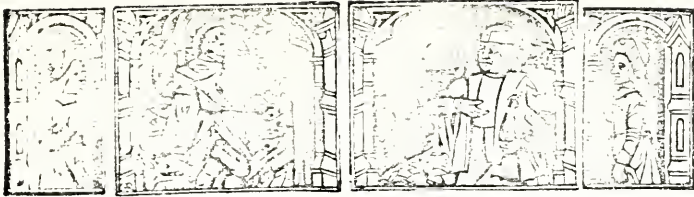
ise, a grandson of Dr. Increase Mather, and nephew of Dr. Cotton Mather. Mr. Walter subsequently reviewed this pamphlet in a brochure entitled a “Choice dialogue between John Faustus, a conjurer, and Jack Tory, his friend. By a Young Stripling.” He evidently assumes this sobriquet in allusion to a remark of Mr. Checkley in a preceding sentence in which he refers to him as a “stripling.”

how they oppose them, for here's nothing but *convince* or *Confound*, stand clear, for here's no Quarter to be given. If anything should be objected against the following Papers, (as I expect there will, for there are many who call themselves *Church of England-Men*, who won't like what these Papers contain) I say if any Thing shou'd be said against the Doctrins laid down herein, it is expected that some of these *Gentlemen* (who are so able to *convince* or *Confound*) will let the world know, whether what the following Pages contain is the *true Scripture Doctrine* of these Matters or not. And indeed I will help the *Gentlemen* (because they are young) to an unanswerable Argument, and such as the meanest ploughman may apprehend; and 'tis this, *viz.* (if any Man in answer to these Papers, shou'd argue upon their old *Hypothesis* of *Secret Decrees*) I would have them make use of this Argument: *That two absolute Contradictions cannot both be true, but the Will of the true God reveal'd to us in holy Scripture is an absolute Contradiction to those stoical and fatal Schemes; Therefore it is impossible that those Schemes can be true.* The *Minor* is prov'd to a Demonstration in the following Sheets.

Before I conclude this *Preface*, I beg leave to give a little Advice to those Persons into whose hands these Papers may fall, that they wou'd not, if they happen to find any Thing *displeasing to them*, immediately throw them out of their Hands; it may be they may take Offence without Reason; but I entreat them to read them quite thro', lest they may be guilty of *Injustice*, by giving Sentence *before the Trial of the Matter*. I conclude with an hearty Desire that these Papers may be attentively read over, *and for this Reason*, because

because they will rightly instruct Thee concerning some of those Things in *Paul's* Epistles, which *Peter* says are hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned & unstable wrest, as *they* do also the other Scriptures unto their own Destruction. *Ye therefore, beloved, seeing ye know these Things before, beware lest ye also being led away with the Error of the wicked, fall from your own Steadfastness. But grow in Grace and in the Knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: To whom be Glory, both now and forever. Amen.*





DIALOGUE THE FIRST.

Country-Man. Good morrow, Reverend Sir.

Minister. I thank Thee, honest *Country-man*, a good Morning to Thee likewise, and I pray God blefs Thee. But I wou'd know what has brought Thee to my house fo early.

C. I am come to be instructed and to know my Duty.

M. Thou art to be commended for fo doing. Sit down, my Friend, I will give Thee my best Instructions concerning what thou shalt inquire of me.

C. I have heard that some Men, particularly one Dr. *Edwards*¹¹⁰ has been endeavouring to bring into our *excellent Church* the *Scotch* and *Dutch Presbyterian* Notions concerning *Election* and *Predestination*. Now Sir, if I have been rightly inform'd concerning these *rigid Doctrines*, I shou'd be very sorry they shou'd take place any further in the Minds of Men; because they will take away our *Free-will*, and transform us into something worse than *Brutes*, for the
Brutes

¹¹⁰ This was the Rev. John Edwards, D.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, who was born in 1637 and died 1716. He was a Calvinist and a voluminous writer. He published in 1713 a work entitled

Theologia Reformata. He was sometimes said to be the *Calvin* of his time. He is referred to on the titlepage of this tract as a "certain man who calls himself a *Presbyter* of the *Church* of *England*."

Brutes plainly discover a Freedom of *Election* in their *Actions*. They will make *God* the *Author* of *Sin*. And his Punishment of the wicked to be merely *arbitrary*, to condemn Men to eternal *Flames*, for those *Sins* which he had put out of their Power to avoid! Nay to *create* them on *purpose* to make them thus *miserable!* the repeating of it *frights* me! It seems all *Blasphemy* to me; to represent the infinit *Goodness* and *Father* of *Mercies*, in the Colours of *Cruelty* it self, that you cou'd not exceed it in the Description of the *Devil!*

M. Therefore the *Lutherans* have charg'd the *Calvinists* with Worshipping the *Devil*. For, say they, we see not the *Person* of *God*, or of the *Devil*. Therefore we describe them by their *Qualities*. And if we make *God* more cruel than the *Devil*, we make Him worse than the *Devil*. And we Worship the *Devil* under the Name of *God*. For it is not the Word *GOD* that we *Worship*, but what we *mean* by it. The Heathens did *Sacrifice* to *Devils*, & not to *God*, yet they call'd those *Devils* by the Name of *Gods*.¹¹¹

C. But

¹¹¹ What may be called "high Calvinism" prevailed in Massachusetts Bay from the foundation of the colony. The early confessions of faith and the platforms adopted at Cambridge and Saybrook maintained their supremacy throughout New England for a hundred and fifty years. The doctrines of decrees, of election, predestination, and reprobation were set forth in their stern and most positive character. They were dispensed everywhere by the learned and unlearned from the Puritan pulpit. While few had the rare gift or capacity for dealing with nice metaphysical questions, nevertheless all understood their conclusions, and read-

ily wove them into their prayers, into their discourses, and into their conversations, and thus these Calvinistic doctrines gave tone and colouring to the whole religious life of the people. Not many original discussions on these topics by the New England divines had up to this time appeared in print. But there were nevertheless Sublapfarians, who taught that God *permitted* the fall of Adam without in any way predetermining it, while there were also Supralapfarians, who taught that the sin of Adam with all its consequences was not only known but predetermined by God from all eternity.

After a very careful research we do not find

C. But *God* is call'd a *Consuming Fire*, and a *terrible God*. Is there not something of *Cruelty* in this?

M. You easily apprehend the Difference betwixt *Justice* and *Cruelty*. *God* is *Justice*, but ther is nothing of *Cruelty* in his Nature. *Cruelty* is delighting in the Misery of another, without any regard to a Fault committed. As Envy is repining at the *Prosperity* of another, let him deserve it never so well; for an *envious* Man cannot endure to see any other in a better Condition than Himself. But none of these can be in *God*.

C. Now I understand. *God* punishes in *Justice*, as He is the Supreme *Judge* of the World. But if He made Creatures on purpose to damn them, this has all the Notion we can have of *Cruelty*. And if He put it out of their Power not to *sin*, and left them no *Free-will* to *chuse* whether they would *sin* or not, I see not how this can be reconcil'd to *Justice*. Therefor I think no Creature is capable of *sinning*
but

find that any denial of these doctrines, or any arguments in opposition to them, had, anterior to this, been published by any theologian or scholar within the boundaries of New England.

These dialogues by Mr. Checkley were therefore the first attempt by a native of the soil to show by argument that these cardinal doctrines of Calvinism were unscriptural, and inconsistent with the character of a wise, good, and benevolent ruler of the universe.

The Churchmen of New England who left the ministry of the Puritan body and sought orders in the Church of England, up to the time of the American Revolution, we believe, without an exception, abandoned the Calvinism in which they had been educated, and some of them published able and elaborate

papers against the repudiated doctrines. Among these may be mentioned the famous letter of Dr. Samuel Johnson, the first president of King's College, New York, under the pseudonyme of Aristocles to Authades, on the sovereignty and the promises of God. To this may be added the reply to the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson by the Rev. John Beach, A.M., on God's sovereignty and his universal love to the souls of men.

These Choice Dialogues by Mr. Checkley led the way, and furnished, in concise and clear statements, the obvious objections to these abstruse doctrines, which had been accepted, for a whole century in Massachusetts Bay, without protest and probably without being understood.

but what has *free-will*. *Sin* being the *Inclining* of the *Will* to *Evil*, and not to *Good*. Which if I have no Power to do, I can neither do *Good* nor *Evil*. I have no Title to *Reward*, nor am I lyable to *Punishment*. And what a *Jest* wou'd it be in you, if you shou'd pretend to *argue* with me, to *promise* or *threaten*, to perswade me to do such a Thing, if you knew before-hand that it was *impossible* for me to do it? Suppose you shou'd tye me Hand and Foot, throw me into a *Prison*, *bolt* and *fetter* me down to the Floor, lock the Doors fast upon me, and then *set-fire* to it, — then *preach* to me in at the Window, and use most *pathetical* Exhortations to me to come out, and why wou'd I stay there to be *burn'd*? And shou'd *Swear* to me, *as I live I don't desire your Death, nor have any Pleasure in it*; and shou'd *promise* me great *Rewards* if I wou'd come out; wou'd not this be *insulting* my *Misery*, and the greatest *Aggravation* of *Cruelty* that is possible to be imagined? Yet this is the *Notion* those rigid Calvinists wou'd have us entertain of the *Goodness* of *God*, of all his gracious *Promises*, and of all his *Threatenings* to us, if we forsake not our *Iniquities*. and deliver ourselves out of that *Prison* and *Bondage* of *Sin* into which we had cast our selves, by our habitual wicked Courses. This is the Case as they put it. And I have made it easie to my self to apprehend it, by this familiar Example I have given, that I see it before my Eyes, and *detest* and *abhor* it! But still I have a Question to ask upon this Point. We say in the *Collect* for the *Second Sunday* in *Lent*, That *we have no power of our selves to help our selves*. Is not this the Case I put of the *Prison*?

M. Yes, fully. If we consider our *Help* as only from *our selves*.

ſelves. When Man had fallen by his *Rebellion* againſt *God*; he was no ways able to deliver himſelf either from the *Dominion* of *Sin*, or from the *Prifon* of *Death* to which it was doom'd, But *Chriſt* our bleſſed *Saviour* enter'd into that *Prifon* in our *Nature*, and in our *Stead*, and made full Satisfaction for all the *Sins* of that *Nature*, to be apply'd to all who laid hold upon it, by a *true* and *lively Faith*, and a ſincere *Repentance* for their *Sins*. He open'd the *Prifon-Doors*, and preach'd Deliverance to all who wou'd accept of his *Salvation*. And to thoſe who are *willing*, he gives the Aſſiſtance of his *Grace*, to help their *Infirmities*. And this *is* neceſſary to all the *Actions* of our *Life*. Without this, we can neither do a good *Deed*, nor think a good *Thought*. So that all the *Glory* is ſtill to *Him*. Yet *ſomething* is ſtill left for *us* to do. We muſt *work* with *Him*, becauſe he *works* in *us* both to *will*, and to *do*.

C. Thus then I take it. If I *manure* my *Ground* never ſo well, yet without the *Sun*, it will not bear. On the other Hand if I do not *prepare* my *Ground*, the *Sun* will not bring a *Crop* I did not *sow*. Nay, it is the *Sun* too, which with my *Labour*, do's prepare the *Ground*, and *fit* it to receive the *Seed*. So that in Effect all is from the *Sun*. both to prepare the *Earth*, and enable it to bring forth the *Seed*. Yet our *Labour* is neceſſary, not as what *produces* any Thing, but only to *remove* what hinders the *Production*. Now I compare the *Sun* to the *Grace* of *God*, without which we can do nothing. And our *Working*, tho' it can *produce* nothing of it ſelf, yet it prepares the *Heart* to receive the *Influence* of the *Sun* of *Rightcouſneſs*. So that, as *St. Paul* ſaith, he that planteth is nothing, nor he that *watereth*, but
God

God who giveth the Encrease. And this was the *Baptism of Repentance*. *St. John Baptist* was sent to *preach*, to turn the *Hearts of the Fathers* to the *Children* and the *Hearts of the Children* to their *Fathers*, to soften the *Ground of the Heart* to take out those *Stones and Hardness* which wou'd hinder it to receive the *Seed of the Gospel*. For **THEY** who are proof against even *Natural Affection*, are deaf to all the *Charms of the Gospel*. And this was truly *preparing the Way* to our *Saviour*, to *fit and dispose* Men to receive his *self-denying Doctrine*. This is a *preventing and preparing* Grace; which whoso *resists*, nips the *Seed in the Bud*, and brings no *Fruit to Perfection*. In vain then do these *unprofitable Servants* plead their own want of *Strength* as an *Excuse*, while they resist that *Grace* which is offer'd them for an *Help*. Suppose I was *lame*, and cou'd not go where my *Life* depended upon it. But then a *Coach* was offer'd me with all *Convenience* to carry me; and I shou'd refuse it, cou'd I plead my *Lameness* as a *Defence* for me? Or, which is more absurd, cou'd I say, it was not in my *Power* to accept it? Or that He who offer'd it, did not really intend it? All this *Banter and Blasphemy* these *Predestinarians* put upon the great *God*.

DIALOGUE THE SECOND.

C. I have been attack'd, Sir, for the last words, I spoke last *Time*, saying that the *Predestinarians* did *banter and blaspheme* the great *God*. They say that *Predestination* is a *Scripture-word*, and therefore no *Man* ought to speak against it. And I must have some of your *Help* to rid me out of this;

this; for I wou'd by no Means say any Thing to the Derogation of the *holy Scriptures*.

M. The *holy Scriptures* often speak to us, *after the Manner of Men*, which in the *Schools* is call'd, *ad Captum*, that is to our *Capacities*. For otherwise we cou'd not *understand* them. We have no words that can *properly* express the *infinit Nature of God*. He is *eternal* and dwells in *Eternity*, but we have no words but of *Time*. We cannot conceive a *Duration* without *past, present* and *to come*, yet these cannot be in *God*. For then He must have a *Beginning*, and wou'd *gain* or *lose* in Process of *Time*, as we do. All Things are *present* to Him. Therefor wherever *Fore* or *After* is attributed to *God* in *holy Scripture*, we must take that Word *ad Captum*, because ther is no *Fore* or *After* in *God*. Such is the Word *Pre-Destination*, or *Fore-Ordaining*, or *Fore-Knowing*. *God knows* all Things. But He *fore-knows* nothing, because all Things are *Present* to Him. So He *ordains*, but He do's not *fore-ordain*. Yet we must use these Words, because they are according to our *Capacities*. But if we argue *strictly* and *properly* from them, we shall fall not only into many *Absurdities*, but even *Blasphemies*. And so it is as to other Words *ad Captum*. *God* is said in *Scripture* to *repent*, to be *grieved*, to be *angry*, &c. Yet we all know *God* is not subject to any of these *Passions*. And if we should *argue strictly* and *properly* from such Expressions, we must deny the *Being* of a *God*. Now if I shou'd argue from *God's* being said to *repent*, that He is *changeable*; and 20 other Consequences might be drawn from thence, What wou'd *Dr. Edwards* say to me? Wou'd He not tell me, that I was *totally* out of the Way, and ought
not

not to draw any such Consequences from a Word that was only *ad Captum*. The same I say to Him as to *Predestination*, which is only *ad Captum*, and no more a *Scripture-Word*, than God's *repenting*, &c. And if He will not give me leave to draw *Consequences* from the *one*, neither will I give him leave to draw *Consequences* from the other, both being equally *absurd*. And let Him shew me a reason more for the *one* than the *other*, if He can. Now these Words *ad Captum* are to be understood *comparatively*, with an *as if*. Thus when it is said *God repented* He had made Man, and it *grieved* Him at the *Heart*, it is to express the high *Displeasure* of *God*, and the terrible *Punishment* of the *Flood* that follow'd, As If *God* had *repented* & been *grieved* at the *Heart*, &c. And thus when *God* was willing to express the exceeding *Greatness* of his *Love* to us, and the full *Assurance* we may have in his *Promises*, He do's it with an *as if* ther were a *Yesterday* in *God*, and that He had then chosen us by Name, and past an *ir-reversible Decree* for our *Salvation*, which no *Time* or *Accident* shou'd ever alter. In which *Scripture-sense* of *Predestination* it is a Doctrin full of *Comfort* and *Assurance* to all good *Christians*. And ther is nothing hard to be understood in it. But the *Perplexities* of this Dispute have arisen from taking the Word in the strict and *literal* Sense, without any *as if*, or *Comparison* in the Case, or any Allowance for a Word *ad Captum*: But down-right supposing a *Time past* in *God*, and the *Decree* already *past*, concerning Things to *Come* with *God*. Which *Absurdity* being granted, others follow *in-extricable* on both sides. For Example, such *Decree* being suppos'd to be *past*, it takes away *Free-will*; else the *Will* of *Man* might disappoint the *Decree* of *God*.

God. On the other Hand, without *Free-will* suppos'd, it will be impossible to give an Account for all the *Promises* and Threatnings in the *Holy Scriptures*, and the *Protestations* of God that he delighteth not in the *Death* of a Sinner, and his earnest *Invitations* to *Repentance*. And as this is the *Perplexity* of the Dispute, so remove the first *Absurdity*, and all clears up on both sides. Let us understand God's *Predestination* (as his *repenting*) to be a Word *ad Captum*, not to be *Strictly* and *Philosophically* inquir'd into, and Consequences drawn from it; but to look to the general *Import* and *Meaning* of it, & there we understand the Firmness of God's *Promises*, and of his *Covenant* made with us in *Christ*, impossible to be frustrated. As IF decreed in *Time past*, even from *Eternity*. But the *Decree* of God being only *Present*, for that ther is no *past* or *future* in Him, we take the Expression only *ad Captum*, and see no *future Infraction* upon our *Free-will* from the *Pre-Destination* of God. The whole Difficulty being as to Time of *'fore* and *after*, which we are sure *are* not, nor *can* be in God.

C. Sir, I understand. And if others wou'd take notice of what you have said, it would stop our arguing and wrangling about it, while it is plain we set out upon a wrong Foundation, in applying *past* and *future* to *God*, which is only as to us. And it is of *God only* we speak, when we speak of his eternal *Decrees* before *Man* was made. For *Man* was not then in the Case, otherwise than as all *future* Things are *present* with *God*. But if we will apply this to our selves, then it will follow, that I was *born* before I was *born*, even from *Eternity*, because my *Birth* was then *present* with *God*. And my *Death* is now *present* with *Him*, therefor I am
now

now *Dead!* And when I am *dead*, I am not *dead*, because all live to Him! Thus we apply to our selves what we call his *Fore-Decrees*, and say that the *Freedom* of our *Will* is now ty'd up by them. Therefor let me make this Experiment. Let us leave the Word *Fore* out of the Dispute, and say only, that God *ordains* the *Punishment* of *Wickedness* and the *Reward* of *Vertue*; and ther is no Difficulty at all in this. But when we say (in the rigid *Calvinistical* Sense) that *God Fore-ordains*, there comes in all the Confusion.

M. And Dr. *Edwards*, or any *Predestinarian* cannot refuse this, since they all allow that ther is no *Fore* or *After* in *God*. Therefor if they will speak *properly* of Him; they must use Words *only* of the *present*. And will they perplex the World, and make Men run *mad*, only because they will not speak *properly* of God? If they pretend to argue *Philosophically*, and draw just *Consequences*, they must use proper Words, & not dispute from Words that are only *ad Captum*.

DIALOGUE THE THIRD.

C. The Account you gave me last Time, Sir, of Predestination has satisfi'd me, that in the Scripture-sense of the Word, and taken only *ad Captum*, as you express it, it is a most *comfortable Doctrin*, and full of Assurance to all good *Christians*. But that the rigid *Calvinistical* Notion of it, and the Inferences they draw from it, are not only most *absurd*, but likewise *blasphemous* against *God*.

M. And the *Effects* of it (some of which I have seen)
among

among the common *Presbyterians* are terrible. For their Heads being perpetually fill'd with the abstruse Notions of *Predestination, Election, Reprobation, and Secret Decrees of God*; and that they have no *Free-will or Choice* what to do, but must go on as it is *secretly Decreed*. This, as it of common Consequence makes Men careless: (for why shou'd they *struggle* when there is no *remedy*, and their *Sentence* is already past, and that *ir-revocably*?) So it is observable, that more of THESE dye in *Despair*, than of any other sort of People. I have seen them cry out on their *Death-Beds* for *Assurance! Assurance! Oh! What shall I do for Assurance!* And when the *Merits and Satisfaction of Christ* has been preach'd to them, they wou'd say, *alas!* What is that to me, if I be not one of the *Elect*? For *Christ* dy'd *only* for the *Elect*. (This is another of their *Doctrines*, pursuant to their *Notion of Predestination*, that the *Decrees of God* may not be frustrated.) And when they were ask'd, why they did doubt of their *Election*? And bid look into their *Lives*, which bating *humane Infirmities*, were *good and vertuous*, in the common Size of Mankind; and therefor that they might take this as a *Mark* of their *Election*: They wou'd answer, that the *good Works* of the *Reprobate* were *hateful* to God, (for so they had been taught) and therefor that this was no *sure Mark*. Nothing but *Election! Election!* was in their Minds. The Condition of these poor People is most *lamentable*. *Election* is with them a *secret Decree*, without any respect to our Works. And they can have no other *Assurance* of it, but that of their own *Imagination*. They cannot, as the *Apostle* requires, be always ready to render a *Reason* of the Hope that

that is in them. Nay, they speak against *Reason*, and think it rather an *Hindrance* to *Faith*.

C. I thank God my *Faith* (which I have learn'd in the Church of *England*) is this, That *Christ* dy'd for all Mankind, and consequently for *me* in particular. And I have his *Promise*, which is an *infallible Assurance*; that if I *believe* and *trust* in that *complete Satisfaction* he has made for all my *Sins*, and truly *repent* of them, I shall be Sav'd. And tho' my *Faith* be weak, that I say, *Lord, I believe, help mine unbelief*; and my *Repentance* is unworthy, and fit to be *repented* of, and all my *Righteousness* is as *filthy rags*, yet I *despair* not, because the *Satisfaction* made for my *Sins* was perform'd by *Christ* in his own Person, wholly without me, in which I have no *Share* or *Part* at all; I paid not, nor cou'd pay one *Penny* of my *Debt*, or make any *Satisfaction* to infinit offended *Justice*; but my whole *Debt* was paid by my *Surety*, and by *Him alone* full *Satisfaction* was made, who *only* cou'd make it. And my *Faith* is the *Hand* that *reaches* this *Medicin* to me, and *applies* it. The *Vertue* is not in the *Hand*, but in the *Medicin*. But the stronger the *Faith*, the greater the *Comfort*. Therefor, *Lord increase my Faith*, and I pray, that *my Faith fail not*. They who look'd upon the *brazen Serpent* were healed, yet some had *better Sight* than others. *Even so was the Son of Man lifted up, that whosoever believeth in Him should have eternal Life*. Thus my *Faith* is in *Christ*, but not in my *Faith* it self. And if I have but a *Grain* of it, as big as a *Mustard-seed*, the *Mountain* of my *Sins* will be remov'd & cast into the *Sea*. If my *Faith* be well-grounded, tho' *weak*, and my *Repentance* be sincere, tho' *unworthy*, I am upon *Jacob's Ladder*, and tho'

tho' upon the *lowest Step*, yet in the *Road to Heaven*. Some are upon an *higher Step*, and some upon a *lower*, but all are *safe*. That is my *Faith*, and my *Assurance*, and this is the *Reason* and the *Rock* upon which it is built. But what Reason can any Man give for his being *elect'd* by a *secret Decree*, which He knows not? He *fancies* himself *elect'd*! There can be no more in it. For, as You have said before, there can be no sure *Mark* of it, even by the Principles of the *Predestinarians*. And what then cou'd the *Apostle* mean (in their Sense) by bidding us *Make our Calling and Election sure*? What! Is not the *Decree of God* sure without us?

M. I am pleas'd with the Account you have given of your *Faith*. And you ought to bless *God* that you have been educated in the Church of *England*, where you have been instructed in the true *Foundations of Christianity*, which give all the *Assurance* that the *Word and Promise of God* can give. And this is the highest *Reason*. But the *Assurance of the Predestinarians* is all *Imagination*, being built upon *Decrees* which they confess to be *secret and hidden* from us. Therefor it is no Wonder they shou'd cry out for Assurance in their Extremity. And when they *say* or may *think* they have it, and *boast* in it, yet they can give no Reason for it, and therefor it is but *Imagination* still. Impressions upon the *Imagination* may give great *Pleasure* and even *Raptures of Joy*. And if these are built upon the true *Foundation*, they are *Gold and precious Stones*; otherwise they are but *Hay and Stubble*, and will not endure the *Fire*. They are often the *Delusion of Satan*, who thus transforms himself into an *Angel of Light*, and deceives many an *unstable Soul*. But they must be try'd by the *Foundation*.

Upon

Upon which they are not built, if we can give no *Reason* for them, but are *Flashes* and *Meteors*, and give a *false Light*. We may know them likewise by their Effects. If such *Transports* leave us more *humble* in our selves, and with more *Love* and *Charity* to others, they come from *God*. But if they fill us with *spiritual Pride*, and make us look down upon others as beneath us, they come, no Doubt, from the *Spirit of Pride*, and tempt us to *Pride*; tho' sometimes without our knowing it, and while we act *Humility*. There is none so *proud* as the *proud-humble man*, who is *proud* of his *Humility*! So subtle is our *Adversary*, that we must watch even over our Vertues. He mixes *Poyson* with our *Meat*. So that we often put *Darkness* for *Light*, and *Light* for *Darkness*. And if the *Light* that is in us be *Darkness*, how great is the *Darkness*! And this must be known by *Reason*. My *Reason* tells me, that I can build no *Assurance* upon *Decrees* which are *hidden* and kept *secret* from me. But whatever those *Decrees* are, my *Reason* assures me they cannot be *contrary* or *against* the *reveal'd Will* of *God*, which is given us in the *holy Scriptures*; because that wou'd be for *God* to *contradict* Himself. Which is impossible. And therefore my *Reason* tells me that I may surely trust in his *Promises*, and chearfully set about my *Duty*, without perplexing my self about his *secret Decrees*.

DIALOGUE THE FOURTH.

C. I hope Sir, that what you have said of *Predestination* will satisfy others as well as it has me. First, that the whole
Dispute,

Dispute, as managed by the *Calvinists*, is all built upon a wrong *Foundation*, even by their own *Confession*, in arguing *strictly* from Words *ad Captum*, and which they confess to be so; and will not suffer the like to be done in any other Case. Therefor that they ought to stop their Disputes upon this Point, till they can find *proper* Words to speak by, if they will speak *properly* of *God*. And these Disputes ought to cease for a second Reason you have given, which is, that they are *useless*, because whatever the *secret Decrees* of *God* may be suppos'd to be, yet that they cannot *go against* or *invalidate* his Will declar'd openly in the *holy Scriptures*, for that wou'd be to *contradict* Himself. Therefor that we may work in *Hope*, and chearfully apply our selves to the *performing* of what He has *commanded* us; with full *Trust* and *Affurance* in what He has *promis'd*, without *perplexing* and *intangling* our selves in these *Disputes* about his *Secret Decrees*; for they must go according to his *reveal'd Will*. In this we are *sure*, and therefor these *Disputes* are at the best *useless* to us; but of most pernicious *Consequence* when taken by the wrong Handle, as you have fully shew'd. But ther is one Thing wherein Dr. *Edwards* and the *Predestinarians* do very much boast, they say that their Doctrin is agreeable to our 39 *Articles*; and therefor that our *Clergy* have *apostatiz'd* (as Dr. *Edwards* words it) from the Doctrin of the Church of *England*: and that the *Dissenters* are the true *Church* of *England*, because they hold *Predestination*, and are against *Free-will*, as they say our *Articles* likewise speak. Now tho' this be no Argument as to the Doctrin it self, yet to those of the *Church* of *England* it is of very great *Consequence*, as well to vindicate the *Church* of *England*

land, as to stop the Mouths of *Dissenters*, which are all open upon us on this Account.

M. The tenth *Article* is of *Free-will*. Which is not at all there deny'd, but rather suppos'd and asserted. But it supposes the Concurrence of the *Grace of God by Christ* to be necessary to *incline* and *guide* our *Will*, and to *work* with us, *When we have that good Will*. Which is exactly agreeable to what I have said before of *Grace* and our *working* with it, page 156. The 17th *Article* is of *Predestination*. And keeps to the *Scripture-Phrase* of God's *ordaining before the World began*, of *calling* whom he *fore-knew*, *justifying*, *sanctifying* them, &c. Which is to be understood in the *same* and no *other* sense than as these Words are us'd in *holy Scripture*, which all agree to be *ad Captum*, as we have discours'd it before. And these Expressions of *Scripture* are, according to our Capacities and Manner of speaking, as this *Article* says, *full of sweet, pleasant and unspeakable Comfort* to godly Persons. But then this *Article* checks the *Curiosities* of this Dispute (which is what I have been blaming) and says, *For curious and carnal Persons lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their Eyes the Sentence of God's Predestination, is a most dangerous Downfal, whereby the Devil doth thrust them either into Desperation, or into Wretchlessnefs of most unclean Living, no less Pernicious than Desperation*.

C. This is so exactly what you have said, that yours is but a Comment upon this.

M. Then the *Article* ends thus, *Furthermore, We must receive God's Promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in holy Scripture: And in our Doings, that Will*

of God is to be follow'd, which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God.

C. This is just as you have concluded, That we may safely trust in *God's Promises*, and perform our Duty cheerfully which He has commanded in *holy Scripture*, without perplexing our selves about his *Secret Decrees*. Therefore instead of these *Articles* being against you, or you against them, you have perfectly follow'd them in your Arguments, and explained them.

M. Observe further, that ther is not a Word of *Reprobation* in all the 17th *Article* of *Predestination*, nothing of God's having *Fore-decreed* any to *Misery*, but it speaks only of those whom He has elected to *Salvation*. So that the rigid *Calvinists* against whom we have been disputing can find no Colour of Umbrage in their Favour from this *Article*. Therefore whatever the Opinion of particular Men might have been, this cannot be charg'd upon the *Church of England*.

There was a Time when some of our *Divines* ran in too much with the *Calvinists*. In the *Marian* Persecution many fled to *Geneva* and those Parts. And the joint Cause against *Popery*, together with the Smart of their own Persecution, inclin'd 'em to all the favourable Opinion they cou'd have of their *Friends*, who gave them *Shelter*. By this Mean some were tinctur'd with these *rigid Notions* of *Predestination*. And when they return'd to *England* in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, their Reputation made this *Doctrin* go down more easily with some People.

But our *English Cyprian*, and holy *Martyr*, the great Arch-Bishop LAUD, set himself to stop the Torrent of this
Infection

Infection, and when he was *Chancellor* of *Oxford*, He turn'd the Bent of their Studies from these modern *Polemicks*, and Reading the *Dutch* and *German Systems* of Divinity, to learn downwards, and from the first Beginning of *Christianity*, to acquaint themselves with the *Fathers* in the several Ages to our Times; Whereby they wou'd be better able to judge of the novel Disputes of the *Remonstrants*, *Anti-Remonstrants*, *Supra* and *Sub-Lapsarians*, &c., which then tormented the *Reformation* in *Germany* and *Holland*; and wherein WE likewise took part. And that famous *University* (together with her Sister of *Cambridge*, which took the same Method) reap to this Day the Benefit of those pious Instructions of her learned *Chancellor*, which has given them that deserved Reputation all over *Europe* for their great *Knowledge* and *Exactness* in *Antiquity*; and the primitive *Doctrin* and *Disciplin* of the *Church*; and teaching us to derive our *Faith* from its *Fountain* and *Original*, and to go higher up than either *Luther* or *Calvin*. For want of which the *Church* of *Rome* has gain'd great Advantages against her less learned *Opposers*. For this Cause, Dr. *Edwards* has thought fit to fall foul upon Arch-Bishop *Laud*, as the *Corrupter* of our *Doctrin*. But WE blefs his Memory as the *Restorer* of it. The *Doctor* charges Him and us for bringing in what he calls *Pelagianism*, and *Arminianism*. But He is too learned not to know this to be a Mistake. For tho' we assert *Free-will*, yet we teach the *Concurrence* and even *Necessity* of *Grace*, to enable us to bring forth Fruit unto *God*, as is before explain'd, page 156.

C. You have made it plain even to me. And now I am frighted to think, that any *Divine* of the *Church* of *England*

land shou'd make such an Use of the *Union* of the two *Kingdoms*, & to propose it in *Print*, as to joyn with the rigid *Calvinists* in *Scotland* and *Holland*, and our own *Dissenters* at Home, against the *Church of England*, which he (good Man) calls *Apostate*; and hopes, with this *foreign* and *domestick* Aid, to bring us all back again to the rigid and most abhorrent *Calvinism* of *Predestination*; to throw Men into *Despair*, and *Wretchlessnes* of most unclean *Living*, as our *Article of Predestination* speaks. But I hope this will give sufficient Warning to those of our *Clergy* who yet remain firm to the *Church*, that they may in Time ward this *Blow* which is so publickly *threaten'd*, and already *attempted*!

DIALOGUE THE FIFTH.

M. Ther is one Point remaining that follows from that of *Predestination* we have been upon; in which I wou'd have you, *Country-man*, to be well grounded, and therefor must examin you a little upon it. These *Predestinarians* placing all upon the eternal *Decrees* of *Election* and *Reprobation*, allow not of Universal Redemption, or that *Christ* dy'd for *All*, Because, say they, if *Christ* dy'd for the *Reprobate*, it was totally in vain, and the End of his *Sufferings* must be frustrated as to them. Besides that he cou'd not intend or design to *Save* those whom *God* had *Reprobated* by an *eternal Decree*.

Now let me see what you have to say to this.

C. As to *eternal Decrees*, enough has been said to that already,

already, that ther is no arguing from it, being only Words *ad Captum*, and therefor not to be *strictly* and *properly* taken. So I dismifs that Point. But now as to *universal Redemption*, the *Scripture* is plain, which says, That *Christ dy'd for all*. And *wou'd have none to perish, but all to come to the Knowledge of the Truth*. And as in *Adam all dye, even so in Christ shall all be made alive*. And many other such like Texts.

M. But all are not made *alive*, that is in *Christ*, so as to be *Saved*, for many *perish*.

C. Yet *Christ dy'd* even for those who *perish*. As it is said i *Cor.* 8, 11 in the *Case* of giving *Scandal* to a weak Brother. *And thro' thy Knowledge shall the weak Brother perish, for whom Christ died?*

Now I help my self to understand this, by a familiar Example. Suppose you came to a *Prison*, and taking a *List* of all the *Debtors*, shou'd pay all their *Debts, Cofts Charges* and all. And opening the *Prison-Doors*, shou'd tell them, they were all at *LIBERTY* who wou'd *accept* of it, and *come out* in such a Time. After which the *Prison Doors* shou'd be lock'd again, and they shou'd be kept there, 'till they had paid the *uttermost Farthing*. Upon this, some thankfully accept of your *Goodness*, and *come out*. But ther are others, who despise your *Mercy*, or will not *believe* you, or understand not the *pleasure* of *Liberty*, but prefer the fordid Life of a *Prison*, the *Pot* and the *Pipe*, and will not *come out*. Which is the very *Condemnation* our *Saviour* spoke of when He said, that *Light was come into the World, but Men loved Darknes rather than Light, because their Deeds were evil*. The *Light* was offer'd to all. But some lov'd *Darkness*

nfs better. It is said that *Life* and *Death* are set before us, yet some chuse *Death*. An Habit of Sinning contracts a Love to it, that we are loth to leave it.

The Application is this. The Debt of those *Prisoners* who Stay'd in the *Prison* was pay'd as well as of those who came out. And as the Release of the one is wholly owing to Him who pay'd the *Debt*; so the *Condemnation* of the other, lies wholly at his own Door, because, He wou'd not accept of his *Liberty*. *Something* was left to the *Prisoners* to do, to chuse whether they wou'd come out, or stay in. God (tho' a God of infinit Mercy) will not save us against our Will. This shews *Free-will*. But ther is no *Merit* in us, when we accept of his *Salvation*. We pay not a *Penny* of the *Debt*, He pays it all. And all the *Thanks* and the *Glory* is to Him. But if He did not pay my *Debt*, how cou'd I be blam'd for staying in the *Prison*, when my *Debt* lay still upon me, that I cou'd not get out? How cou'd I be call'd *ungrateful* to Him who *pay'd* nothing for me, nor ever did *design* it? And how can wicked Men be blam'd for trampling under Foot the Blood of the *Son of God*, for *despising* and *resisting* his *Grace*, if He Shed *no Blood* for them, nor ever gave them any *saving Grace*?

M. I desire Dr. *Edwards* (or any One of his Opinion) to answer this. But this brings me to another Point which follows in the Train of *Consequences* of these Men's Notion of *Predestination*. For from the *eternal Decrees*, as they put it, they infer that there can be no falling from *Grace*, because this might defeat the *Decree*. And therefor that Men cannot finally *resist* his *Grace*, or fall from it. This minds

me of a remarkable Passage told by Dr. *Bates*, who wrote the *Eleuchus Motuum nuperorum in Anglia*. He as a Physician was call'd upon to assist that Night that *Oliver* (that Christian Heroe in some Mens Esteem) prov'd a true *Deliverer* of his Country. The *Usurper* was in great *Agonies* of *Mind*, often *started*, and ask'd them if they saw any Thing? At length He calls for his *Chaplains*. And the first Question He ask'd them was, *If there was any falling from Grace?* To which being answered, No, — *then*, said he, *I am safe*. For He suppos'd that some Time or other in his Life, he might have had a little *Grace*. And then his *Usurpation*, with the *Murder* of the King his *Royal* and *Religious Master*, and *Devastation* of three *Kingdoms*, besides much *Blood-shed* abroad, and the *Overtthrow* of the *establish'd Church*, cou'd do him no Hurt! This is a short Way of quieting *Conscience!* and to lull Men asleep in their *Sins!* Thus poor *Souls* are deluded by these *Doctrins* of *Decrees!*

In Consequence of which it is a *Maxim* with them, that *God sees no Sin in his Elect*. Which is indeed, that the *Elect* cannot *sin*. They say that *David* was nothing out of God's Favour while he continued in his Sin, more than before he *committed* it, or than after he *repented*. Nay some of them have wrote expressly against *Repentance*, as being a *Dero-gation* from the *Decrees* of *God*, & supposing 'em to be *conditional*. Whence others have likewise spoke against *Good Works*. What! Do we think that any Thing we can do, can reverse or alter the *Decrees* of *God?*

And as they think the *Elect* cannot *sin*, so they say that others can do nothing else but *sin*. Thus the same *Actions* are *Sin* in *One*, and *Piety* in the *other*. As the *Poet* said,

The *Saints* may do the same Things by
 The Spirit in Sincerity,
 Which other Men are *tempted* to,
 And at the *Devil's* Instance do:
 All *Piety* consists therein
 In them, in other Men all *Sin*.

I have read in a Book of one of their celebrated *Preacher's*, a long Comparison betwixt *Eſau* and *Jacob*, wherein *Eſau* was ſet forth with all the Advantages of *Worth* and *Honour*, and *Jacob* repreſented as the *wickedest* Fellow upon Earth; and this Uſe was made of it, that *God* choſe *Jacob* before *Eſau*, to ſhew that his *Decrees* were *absolute*, and had no reſpect to the *Goodneſs* or *Wickedneſs* of the *Perſons*.

C. Then it is all one whether we are good or wicked! Nay *Wickedneſs* has the Advantage in many Caſes, as in this of *Eſau* and *Jacob*! Sir, theſe are monſtrous *Principles*! And make me now no longer wonder at what one of their eminent *Preachers* in *London* ſaid ſince the *Revolution*, who being aſk'd by ſome of his *Brethren*, what progreſs he had made, He ſaid he had made many *Proſelytes*, and had a full *Congregation*; but, added he, all the Effect I have found is, That I have preach'd a *Congregation* of *Chriſtians* into a *Congregation* of *Devils*. Perhaps not knowing the *Cauſe*, and that this was the natural *Conſequence* of thoſe *Doctrines* he had *preach'd* to them.

And are theſe the *Principles* to which Dr. *Edwards* would have us *reform'd* backwards over, by the *Kirk* in *Scotland* and in *Holland* coming into the Aid of our Diſſenters at Home? A *Bleſſed Confederacy*!

M. The *Doctor* has given the *On-ſet* himſelf in a large
 Book,

Book, he has lately Printed, call'd *Veritas Redux*,¹¹² wherein these *Principles* are set up to the Height. He *leads* the *Armies* of the *Philistines*, and *leads* them on against the *Camp* of *Israel*.

DIALOGUE THE SIXTH.

C. Reverend Sir, before I take my leave of you, I wou'd willingly be informed whether what I have heard of the *Dissenters* be true or not. I have heard that many of them are turn'd *Arians* and *Socinians*. I pray now, is it true?

M. Yes, *Country-man*, it is too true! Many of the *Dissenting* Ministers themselves have publickly profess'd themselves *Socinians*; that is, they deny *Jesus Christ* to be *God*. These are some of those of whom the *Scripture* speaks, that in the latter Times Men wou'd arise who wou'd deny the *God* that bought them. Their woful *Apostacy*, *Country-man*, may easily be accounted for. Unhappy Men! They have thrown off the *Succession* of the *Priesthood*, by which only the *Ministers* of *Jesus Christ* can demonstrate that they are sent by Him. They have likewise thrown off the sacred *Festivals* and *Feasts* of the *Church*, and the comely and decent Ceremonies which have been practis'd in the *Church*: Which tho' they are (simply) no Parts of *Worship*, yet without them, the true Fear of God and his true *Worship* cannot long be preserved. For these *Festivals*, &c., are like the *Cask* to the *Wine*; The *Cask* is no Part of the *Wine*, but if thou breakest the *Cask*, thou inevitably wilt lose the *Wine*.

C. Sir,

C. Sir, I make no Wonder now that those Men who so much incline to this wicked *Herese* shou'd make such a Noise against the decent *Ceremonies*, &c. of our excellent Church.

M. Your Remark is just, Country-man. This was the chief Reason, that made that *Arch-Heretick*, that *uncircumcis'd Philistine*, their infamous Mr. *James Peirce*,¹¹³ who is one of the chief of these *Infidels*, I say it was chiefly his Inclination to this *Herese* that made him so loudly exclaim against the *Festivals* and *Ceremonies* of our excellent *Church*; particularly against our *Bowing*, in the *publick Assemblies*, at the most *solemn* and *devout* Mention of the *Name* of the ever blessed *JESUS*.

This made him say, in his *Vindication* of the *Dissenters*, page 531, "But we can see no Reason why we shou'd rather bow at the Name of *Jesus*, than at the Name *God*, *Jehovah*, *Christ*, or *Saviour*, which is the same with *Jesus*."

Therefor in Answer to this arrogant and *insulting Infidel*, and to all other Enemies of our holy *Christian Faith*, I will instruct Thee, my *Christian Friend*, concerning the true Reason of that *laudable* and truly *Pious* Custom. I mean that of *reverently* Bowing in the Publick Assemblies of *Christians*, at the solemn Mention of the Sacred *Name* of the *holy*, the *ever-blessed* and always to be adored *JESUS*.

The

¹¹³ James Peirce was born in 1673, and died in 1726. He was a distinguished Arian Dissenter, the author of a great number of learned and critical works, especially commentaries upon several of the Epistles of St. Paul. His Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews was translated into Latin by Michaelis, and

published at Halle in 1747. The Rev. Dr. William Nichols, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, published in 1707 a work entitled *Defensio Ecclesie Anglicanae*, which he issued in an English translation in 1715. This work was answered by Peirce in his *Vindication of the Dissenters* in 1718.

The Word *JESUS* signifies a *Saviour*, and is the *proper* Name of *OUR blessed Saviour*, who had this Name given Him by the *Angel*, before He was conceiv'd in the *Womb*. So that this is his *Personal* Name. The Word *Christ* denotes only his *Office*, as He was the *anointed of God*, which that *Word* signifies.

Now, there was in the *Apostles* Time, a Set of *Hereticks*, as *Cerinthus* and his *Followers* who deny'd *This Jesus* to be the *Christ*. They said that *Christ*, or the *Holy Spirit* (for they made no Distinction) dwelt in *Jesus*, as in other holy Men. That it descended upon Him at his *Baptism*, but left Him on the *Cross*, which made Him cry, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* Against these the *Apostles* wrote. And the Burden of their Arguments was to prove that *This Jesus* is the *Christ*. As *St. Peter* said, (*Act. 2. 36.*) *Therefore let all the House of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ.* And *St. John* says, (*Joh. 20. 31.*) *These Things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God.* And (*1 Joh. 2. 22.*) *Who is a Liar, but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ?* Wherefore *St. Paul* says, (*Phil. 2. 10.*) *That at the Name of JESUS every Knee should bow.* This was owning HIM to be the *Christ*. Which is truly to be a *Christian*. And the *Bowing* at any other Name, do's not shew this. To bow at the Name of *God* do's not distinguish me from a *Jew*, a *Mahometan*, or an *Heathen*, who all acknowledge a *God*. And to bow at the Name of *Christ* or the *Messiah*, do's not shew but that I may be a *Jew*, for they own a *Christ*, and expect him yet to come. But they expressly deny that *this JESUS* is the *Christ*.

And

And (alas!) we have the same Cause of distinguishing our selves at this Day, where many that shelter themselves under the Name of *Christians*, (ay, and good *Protestants* too) are profess'd *Deists* and *blaspheme* that worthy Name by which we are called, saying, "*The old Romans did him Justice to punish Him with the Death of a Slave.* — Oh! cursed Blasphemy!) This is taken out of a Pamphlet entitled, *The Growth of Deism*, approv'd and recommended by the infamous and execrable *Tyndal* in his blasphemous Book of the *Rights*; (which Book of the *Rights* is highly valued by many of the *Dissenters* — Unhappy Men!) And we shall not distinguish our selves from these by *Bowing* at the Name of *God*. Then again, the *Quakers* do expressly deny the Man *Jesus* to be the *Christ*, they run in directly with the *Heresie* of *Cerinthus*, and say that *Christ* or the *Light* dwelt in *Jesus*, they make *Christ* and *Jesus* to be *two*. Therefore *Bowing* at the Name of *Christ* will not distinguish us from these. But *Bowing* at the Sacred Name of *Jesus*, is owning THAT *Person*, THAT Man *Jesus* to be the *Christ*. And nothing less than this (owning *Christ*) can denominate a Man to be a *Christian*.

I don't say it is *necessary* or an *Article* of *Faith* always to bow at the Name of *Jesus*. But I hope I may say from the *Authorities* and *Reasons* I have offer'd, that ther can be no *Harm* in it, far less any *Superstition*. That it is highly *decent* and a *Profession* of our *Christianity*. And that THOSE who refrain from it out of a *Principle*, give Grounds of *Suspicion*, that they are not sound in the *Faith*, and lean more to the *Deists*, *Socinians*, or *Principles* of the *Quakers*, than to the *Christian Church*. At least they give Counte-

nance to these *Enemies of Christianity*, while they joyn with them in refusing this *Publick Attestation* which the Church gives of her Faith in the *crucify'd JESUS*. We bow or uncover our selves at the Name of an *Earthly King*, when his *Grants* or *Patents* are read. And may we not bow at the Name of the *King of Kings*, and *Lord of Lords*!

C. Reverend Sir, I thank Thee for these pious *Instructions* and *Exhortations*. And I thank my good God, that I have not so learned *Christ*, as like these *Infidels* to be ashamed of the *crucify'd Jesus*. No, as for me and my House, we will serve the Lord CHRIST. And while the *infidel* World, and *Luke-warm Christians* are ashamed to own their God and their Redeemer, I will excite my *Christian* Neighbours (by my Example) in the *Assemblies of Christians* for Publick Worshipp, humbly to bow down, and with godly Reverence adore, at the solemn Mention of the Name of our great God, and our holy Redeemer, the Captain of our Salvation; the holy, the adorable, and ever blessed JESUS.

Reverend Sir, before I take my leave, I entreat that I may join with Thee in offering up this *Hymn* to the ever-blessed *Trinity*, which I have learned by frequenting our most excellent Church, the Church of *England*.

To Father, Son, and holy Ghost,
The God whom WE adore,
Be Glory; as it was is now,
And shall be ever-more.

NOTE. — In the original edition of the *Choice Dialogues* there followed at the end the *Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Magnesians*, translated into English by the Rt. Rev. William Wake, D.D., Archbishop of Canterbury. The apparent object of the author was to show the prevalence of Episcopacy in the time of this Apostolic Father, whose Martyrdom occurred about seven years after the death of St. John, who wrote the Book of Revelation.

A
M O D E S T P R O O F
O F T H E

Order & Government

Settled by Christ and his Apostles

I N T H E

C H U R C H .

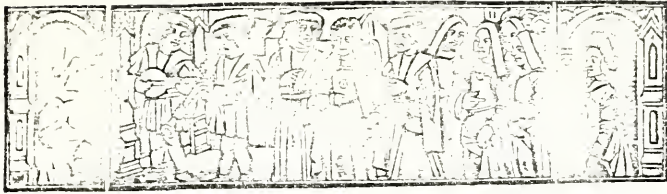
B Y S H E W I N G

- I. What Sacred Offices were Instituted by them.
- II. How those Officers were Distinguished.
- III. That they were to be Perpetual and Standing in the Church. And,
- IV. Who Succeed in them, and rightly Execute them to this Day.

Recommended as proper to be put into the Hands of the Laity.

B O S T O N :

Re-printed by *Tho. Fleet*, and are to be Sold by *Benjamin Eliot* in *Boston*, *Daniel Aurault* in *Newport*, *Gabriel Bernon* in *Providence*, *Mr. Gallop* in *Bristol*, *Mr. Jean* in *Stratford*, and in most other Towns within the Colonies of *Connecticut* and *Rhode-Island*.
1723.



The Publisher

TO THE

R E A D E R .

I Was advised by some pious Persons, who desire Peace and Union amongst Christians, to re-print this Discourse, in hopes of its good Effect on all impartial Readers.

The Arguments being wholly Scriptural, are not only convincing, but managed with so much Charity, that few Books of Controversy in Religion can expect a better Reception.

Upon a serious perusal of this Piece, it will appear clear and evident, That whosoever justly sustains the Character of a Minister of the Gospel of Christ, hath, besides his Internal Qualifications, an External Visible Commission delivered to him, by those who have Power and Authority to grant it: From whence these Inferences do naturally flow.

First, That the Ministers of the Church of England, who freely own that the Power of Ordinations was first vested in the Apostles, and from them, through all Ages since, in a succession of Bishops, from whence they derive their own Ordinations,

Ordinations, are to be acknowledged true Ministers of the Gospel.

Secondly, *That it is a daring Offence to intrude into the sacred Function, without a regular designation to the Exercise of it. See Numb. 16. 40. 2 Sam. 6. 6, 7. 2 Chron. 26. 19, 20, 21, 22. Heb. 5. 4, 5.*

Thirdly, *That People ought to endeavour after all the Assurance they can attain to, that they have the Means of Grace in the Word and Sacraments, duly administred and dispensed unto them, by Persons fully authorized for those holy Offices. For since the Priest's Lips are to preserve Knowledge, the People ought to be satisfied that they are really such, at whose Mouth they seek the Law. And,*

Fourthly, *That it is a very criminal Presumption, and an unsufferable Insolence in some, to value their Gifts at so high a rate, as to think themselves by the virtue of them, entituled to the Ministerial Office, without being admitted by the Imposition of the Hands of those, whom Christ has ordered to preside over the affairs of his Church.*

Fifthly, *That since there is no approaching before God's Altar, without the appointed Rites of Consecration, nor any meddling with his Institutions without his Order and Command; Those invaders of the sacred Services, cannot be said to be the Ambassadors of God, or accounted the Stewards of the Mysteries of Christ, who presume to touch those holy Things, with their unhallowed Hands, and like Saul, would sacrifice without a Call, 1 Sam. 13. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. For those who offer strange Fire before the Lord, their Incence must be an Abomination to him, Levit. 10. 12.*

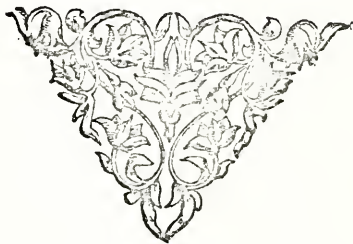
Lastly,

Lastly, Tho' we can by no means question our Saviour's Gifts and Abilities, yet he did not enter upon his Ministry, until he was solemnly inaugurated into that Office; for he glorified not himself to be made an High Priest, but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son, which was said unto him at his Baptism, Luke 2. 22. So when he was about to leave the World, he Commissioned others to go upon the great Embassy of Reconciliation, to transact in his Name, and proclaim and seal his Pardons, saying, As my Father sent me, so send I you: Whereupon he immediately gave them the power of Censures and Absolutions, John 20. 22, 23. Matth. 28. 19, 20. And they also before their Death, imparted their Power to others, by Imposition of Hands. Thus the Apostles ordained seven Deacons, Act. 6. 5, 6. among other Services, to Preach and to Baptize, in the Exercise of which Offices we find St. Philip, one of them, diligently employed, Acts 8. 1. &c. Thus Paul and Barnabas ordained Elders in every Church, Acts 14. 23. And thus St. Paul, who had ordained Timothy and Titus, appointed Titus to ordain Elders in every City in Crete, Tit. 1. 5. And that these sacred Offices should continue in a regular Ministry to the end of the World, is undeniable from Math. 6. 18. and Chap. 28. 19, 20. and Eph. 4. 11, 12, 13. And finally, that there was a preheminance of Jurisdiction and Authority in some of these Church-Offices over others, is plainly proved in this Treatise, in the Apostolical Dignity (to which the Episcopal must needs succeed) over the seventy, and the Deacons; and St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy and Titus, where we find many marks of the Power of those Bishops over their inferiour Presbyters, as to Ordain them, or upon occasion to promote them to a higher Order, to

Judge

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Judge and Censure them, and if the case required, to proceed to Deposition. This is the standing Ministry that the Church of England claims a Part and Lot in: This is the Nature and true Notion of a Gospel Ministry, as we find it founded by our Saviour and his Apostles.





A
Modest Proof
OF THE
Order and Government
Settled by Christ and his Apostles
IN THE
C H U R C H.

MY design is at present, to represent to the World, what was the primitive Model, or Form of Church-Government; what was settl'd by our Saviour, and his *Apostles*, in this point; and that from what is recorded of the matter in the Books of the New-Testament: This is evident from the Title-page; and the end of this undertaking is in order to let all Parties contending for various Forms see which is really the right one, with which if they compare their own, they may be enabl'd to continue it or reject it as it agrees with, or deviates from the first Institution.

Now the Church however harrassed and disquieted, with a great variety of Disputes and Debates, about points of *Doctrine* and *Discipline*; yet heard little or no noise made, for about 1400 years, about *this* point of *Church-Government*. One *Aerius* started a debate, but had so few to second him that it died with himself, and left his name on record among *Hereticks*.

The goodly Order and *Government* instituted by Christ, stood firm for many Ages; and under it the Church flourished, and the Christian Religion mightily prevailed, notwithstanding the violent Persecutions of *those* times: but at length it was invaded, and suppressed by the Usurpation and Tyranny of the *Roman Papacy*. A *secular Power*, and *Dominion* was set up; and the *Doctrine*, *Worship*, and *Discipline* of the Church, following the fate of its Government, were corrupted. Error, Superstition, Idolatry and Tyranny, the Pillars of the Papal Kingdom, were introduced: And all maintained, on the one hand, by a most false and blasphemous Pretension to an Absolute infallible Power and Authority derived from Christ; and on the other, by a most horrid and cruel Persecution of all who did but mutter the least Dissent.

Thus lay the Church for some Ages, groaning under this *Anti-christian Usurpation*, struggling and wrestling even unto Blood and Martyrdom, to recover its primitive Purity and Liberty. It pleased the Lord at length, to deliver it in part, and to retrieve its *Doctrine*, *Worship*, *Discipline* and *Government*, by a longwish'd for Reformation: A Reformation which had been much more happy and compleat, had not the *Adversary* scattered his Tares among the good Seed
which

which sprung up in Briars and Thorns: Had not some Doctrines and Customs, maintained by one part of the Reformed Church, and rejected by an other, occasioned hot disputes, which gave no less disturbance to the Church, than they yielded Pleasure and Diversion to the *Common Enemies*.

Among other differences this was one; that while the greatest and most considerable part of the Reformed Church, retained the Ancient Order and *Government*, and vindicated it from the Usurpations and Encroachments of the *Papacy*, Others (upon what considerations I shall not enquire) were pleased to set up a new Form and Model of Policy, with a modest kind protestation, Cal. Inst. lib. 4. Cap. 10. §. 32, *ne ecclesia ecclesiam contemnat ob externæ disciplinæ variatatem*, that these their different Measures, shou'd be no Ground of breach between them, and other *Reformed Churches*: But this did not prevent Disputes upon that Head, and every Church defending its own Model, as most agreeable to the first Institution, the debate came to that height, as to occasion a sad Rupture and Schism; a Schism which has produc'd no where more woful effects, than in these three Kingdoms: What Alienation of Minds among professors of the same *Reformed Religion*, what Confusions and barbarous Cruelties, what Convulsions and Revolutions in Church and State, what publick and private Mischiefs, have sprung from this Root of Bitterness, the Histories of the past Age, give a very sad and lamentable Account: And above all, the malignant Influence it hath had on Religion, to obstruct the Life and Practice of true Christianity, cannot be sufficiently *regretted*.

I doubt not but the *Common Enemy*, and they whose trade it is to fish in muddy Waters, have been very active to *blow this Coal*; but that which hath sometimes made this Debate break forth in *Vesuvian Flames*, and be disputed with Fire and Sword, with Blood and Wounds, is, That it hath been incorporated into, and joined with other Political Debates and State-differences; It were easie to demonstrate this, did not the evidence of it render it needless; that *Political Interests* and *State-differences*, have all along been interwoven with this contest about *Church-Government*, and have supported and maintained it: And perhaps at the Bottom, 't is none of the least prejudices against *Episcopacy*, that they of that Perswasion have generally asserted the *just Rights* and *Prerogatives of Princes*, as the surest Foundation of a Kingdoms Happiness and Tranquility; and accordingly have maintained the Doctrines of *Non-resistance*, and *Passive Obedience*, &c. whereas its Rival *Government* hath been thought by some, more serviceable for Checking and Curbing the *Power of Princes*. Certain it is, there is *too* much of a Carnal and worldly Spirit, that keeps this Debate so long alive; and there is little hopes it will die, till Christians be more animated with the true Spirit and Temper of the Gospel. 1 Cor. 3. 3.

I am sensible there have been many Volumes which have appear'd in the World upon this Argument, which may seem, or be expected to have exhausted the Subject on both sides; and this may be a prejudice against my present undertaking, as superfluous: And the little good effect those Volumes have had, may make it be look'd upon as Pre-sumption in me to fancy that what I have to offer will do
any

any good, where so little has been effected by those that have gone before me. But I remember the Story of *Spiridion*, a famous Bishop, for Piety, Hospitality and many Miracles, who, is said, to have confounded, at the Council of *Nice*, a certain Philosopher, who by the subtilty of his Arguments against Christianity, fought to imbarass the Bishops. *Spiridion* takes the Discourse, and prays the Philosopher, in the Name of Christ, to hear him; and so goes on, repeating the Articles of the Christian Faith, which, when the Philosopher heard, with great Astonishment he said; *So long as any reasoned with me, I opposed other Reasons; but now when God speaks to me, by the Mouth of that old Man, I am not able to answer, I find a secret force upon my Spirit, convincing me and perswading me.* I shall with God's Assistance, follow the Method of this holy Man, in giving as plain and impartial an Account of the *Order and Government* instituted by Christ and his Apostles in the Christian Church, as I am able to collect from the sacred *Records* of the New Testament, to which I purpose closely to adhere. Possibly, what I offer may have as good effect upon some of my Readers, as the good Bishop's like Conduct upon another Occasion, had with the Philosopher: And a clear, and full View of the first Scriptural Institution of Church Government set before our Eyes, may enable all Parties to see most clearly which of the Forms now contended for and promoted, bid fairest to be true Copies of the Divine Original.

To proceed the more Methodically, I shall produce what I have to say upon this great Subject, under these four Heads.

I. First, I will shew what sacred Offices were instituted by Christ and his Apostles, in the Church.

II. Secondly,

II. Secondly, I will make it appear, how these Offices were distinguish'd, and demonstrate an Imparity among them.

III. Thirdly, I will examine whether any of them were extraordinary and temporary, and prove that they were not, but design'd to be perpetual, and standing in the Church.

IV. Fourthly, supposing these Offices to be standing, I will shew who succeed in them, and rightly execute them to this day.

I. First, then, I am to shew what sacred Offices were instituted by Christ, and his Apostles in the Church.

When our blessed Lord appeared in his publick Ministry, in the beginning thereof he called many unto him, to be his ordinary Attendants, of whom, some had been trained up under *John's* Ministry; These were in a peculiar manner his Disciples, in distinction from the multitude of Profelites, who were gained by his preaching and Miracles; and he made use of the Ministry of these his Disciples, in baptizing such as were profelited, as those were baptiz'd, who were made *Profelites* under the old Dispensation. *John* iv. 1, 2. The Eminent Prophets whom GOD raised up to his People, gathered a School or College of Disciples, called, *The Sons of the Prophets*, who were trained up under their Inspection and Discipline to the Prophetical Office: So it is to be conceiv'd of the Disciples of *John* the Baptist, and of our Lord, that they were as two Seminaries wherein many were trained up, under the Discipline and Instruction of these two eminent Masters as *Candidates* for the Gospel Ministry: Our blessed Lord being thus attended, with his *Disciples*, *Mat.* 9. went about, *in his own Person*, "all the Cities and Villages, "teaching in their Synagogues, and preaching the Gospel of
"the

“ the Kingdom, and healing every Sicknefs and every Difeafe
“ among the People. And when he faw the Multitudes come
“ Flocking to him from all quarters, he was moved with Com-
“ paffion on them, becaufe they fainted, (*being't is like wearied*
“ *with their long Journies*) and were fattered abroad as
“ Sheep having no Shepherd. John iv. 35-8. Then faid
“ he to his Difciples, the Harveft truly is plenteous, but the
“ Labourers are few, pray ye the Lord of the Harveft, that he
“ fend forth Labourers to his Harveft. Upon this St. *Mark*
tells us, iii. 13-14, “ He goeth unto a Mountain, and calleth
“ unto him whom he would, and they came unto him. St.
Luke adds, vi. 12-13, “ That he went to this Mountain to
“ pray, and continued all night in Prayer to GOD, and when
“ it was day, he called unto him his Difciples, and of them he
“ chofe and ordained twelve, that they fhould be with him,
“ and that he might fend them forth to preach; whom alfo
“ he named *APOSTLES*.

Some time after, *Luke* ix. 1-2, *He called thefe twelve together, and gave them Power and Authority over all Devils, and to cure Difeafes, and fent them forth to preach the Kingdom of GOD, and to heal the Sick*; We have their Commiffion at large, *Matth.* 10. After their return from executing which firft Commiffion, they continue with their Mafter as his conftant Attendants; and we read not, that, during his abode on Earth, they were fent forth a fecond time; until he gave them their laft and full Commiffion, a little before his Afcenfion.

Some time after the return of the Apoftles, *Luke* x. *He appointed other feventy, and fent them forth, with the fame Commiffion and the fame Power, that he had fent the Apoftles,*

Apostles, to preach the Gospel, to cast out Devils, to heal Diseases, and almost in all things with the same instructions, concerning their Conduct: which makes the *Continuator of Pool's Annotations on the place*, say, *how some come to imagine a difference of Order betwixt them and the Apostles, I cannot tell: Yet Calvin* scruples not to call them, in dignity less than the Apostles, next in Office to them, designed by Christ in the second place after the Apostles. Cal. *Inst.* lib. 4. Cap. 3. Sect. 4. *dignitate Apostolis minores, Officium proximi, quos secundo ab Apostolis loco Christus designavit.*

Here we see, in what a solemn manner, Christ instituted the first and prime Officers of his Church, who are particularly described by their Number, Names, and that honourable Designation by which he called them: Whom he also named Apostles.

Indeed all the difference expressed in these two *Missions*, is, that we read not of such a *solemn Inauguration* of the *seventy* unto their Office, as of the *twelve*; and that the *Twelve* were particularly honoured with the Title of *APOSTLES*, even before they were sent forth (of the importance of which Name, we shall afterwards enquire); but the *seventy*, tho' they were sent forth immediately by Christ, are no where so called, but only Disciples. But though their Commission was much the same, with what was given to the *Apostles*, (who had not as yet received their *full Commission*) yet it is most certain, that they were two *distinct Orders* of Gospel Ministers: they are never numbered together, but in two distinct *Classes*. The Apostles are still *twelve* and not *eighty two*; And (which puts it beyond all question) when a Vacancy falls in the Colledge of *Apostles*,

by

by the Apostacy of *Judas*, what a solemn Work was there, at the Translation of one from the Number of Disciples, that he might be reckoned and numbred with the *Eleven*, and succeed to *Judas* his Apostle-ship? *Acts* I. 13-26.

Thus have we seen two Orders of Gospel Ministers instituted by Christ himself. There is a third Order instituted by his Apostles, *that of Deacons*. The occasion, design, and manner of instituting this new Order, we have fully set down in the sixth Chapter of the *Acts* of the holy Apostles, from the first to the seventh *verse*.

Of this Institution I shall only observe, That *it* was made by the *twelve Apostles*, to whom the *Government* of the Church was principally committed, and who had Power and Authority to institute new Offices and Officers as the Exigence of the Church should require; That these *Deacons* were appointed and set apart to their Office by the *Apostles*, with the Ceremony of *Prayer and Imposition of Hands*, which was usual in designing and appointing Persons to any sacred Office, in the Gospel Ministry: And further, that these *Deacons* thus separated and ordained, were invested with some share of the *Apostolick Office*, particularly of *Preaching* and *Baptizing*, as well as managing the publick Stock of the Church, which they exerted in subordination to the *Apostles*, under their Inspection and by their Direction; That *Stephen* was a Preacher (and the rest of them, of whom we have nothing on record, save their Names) as well as *Philip*, cannot be doubted. *Stephen* by his Zeal in propagating the Gospel, became the first Martyr; and of *Philip* we expressly read, that by his Preaching, he converted
Samaria

Samaria and initiated the Converts there, into the Christian Profession by *Baptism*. Hence we afterwards find him dignified with the honourable Title of *Philip the Evangelist*, though but one of the Seven. *Act. 8. and 21. 2.*

This I observe to shew the vast difference betwixt these *Gospel Deacons* instituted and ordained by the *Apostles*, and those who are named *Deacons* under the *Presbyterian Model*, without any Ordination or Power to Preach or Baptize, that none may be imposed upon by the bare Name, to think them to be of *Divine* or *Apostolick Institution*.

Thus much shall serve to shew what I promis'd in the first place, what sacred Offices were instituted by Christ, and his Apostles in the Church.

II. I now come to what I promis'd in the second place, to make it appear how these Offices were distinguished; and demonstrate an imparity among them.

Now of the last mentioned, there is no debate; all acknowledge that *Deacons* were different from, and inferiour to the two former Offices of Apostles, and the Seventy; 'tis of these two that some are pleased to pronounce that they are one and the same; whereas what I have already observed of their Institution, plainly shews them to have been distinct Offices, and they are every where spoken of in Scripture as such: particularly in that enumeration of Gospel Officers, *1 Cor. 12. 28. God hath set in his Church, first Apostles, secondarily Prophets, thirdly Teachers: Are all Apostles, are all Prophets, are all Teachers?* Though every Apostle was a Prophet and Teacher, the Superiour Order including the Inferiour; yet every Prophet and Teacher, was not an Apostle (as for the rest in that Enumeration, they are not distinct

distinct Offices, but various and different Powers and Gifts wherewith the Gospel Officers were endued.)

Supposing then the *Deacons* inferiour to the Apostles and Seventy, the question is concerning the *twelve* who were called *Apostles*, and the *seventy and others of their Order*, who go by the name of Prophets, in a Gospel Sense; Ministers of the Word and Sacraments, such as *Judas* and *Silas* were; who are also called *Prophets*, *Evangelists*, *Pastors* and *Teachers* in the 4th Chapter to the *Ephesians* and the 11th *Verse*. *Acts* 15. 32. *Eph.* 2. 20. *Ch.* 3. 5. *1 Cor.* 14. 3.

I say, the question is whether these *Prophets*, *Pastors* and *Teachers* and *Evangelists*, were of the same Office and Order with the *Apostles*? Or, whether they were of a *distinct Office* and *Order*, and inferiour to that of the *Apostles*? For clearing this we must consider their *Commissions*, and the Exercise of their Office conformable to their *Commissions*.

And first of the *Apostles*. All that their first Commission did bear, was to Preach the Gospel and to Administer the Ordinances of Religion; and this was all the exercise of their Apostolick Office that we read of, during Christ's bodily presence with them, and in this, (as I said) they differed little from the *seventy*: But when Christ was to leave the Earth, having finished the Work of our Redemption, He enlarged their Commission, and put them in actual exercise of their Apostolick Power and Office. *All Power* (says he) *is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth, go ye therefore and Disciple all Nations, Baptizing them in the Name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and lo, I*

am with you alway even to the end of the World. And he lifted up his Hands, and blessed them, and said unto them, As my Father sent me, so send I you, “and thus saying, he “breathed upon them, and said unto them, “Receive ye the “Holy Ghost, whose soever Sins ye forgive, they are forgiven, “and whose soever Sins ye retain, they are retained. We read moreover, “That through the Holy Ghost he gave Com- “mandments to his Apostles whom he had chosen, to whom “he shewed himself alive after his Sufferings, by many infal- “lible Signs, being seen of them for the space of Forty “Days, and speaking unto them of the things pertaining “to the Kingdom of God. Matth. 28. 17, 18. Luke 24. 50. John 20. 21. Acts 1. *Cave's Antiq. Apost. Introduct. §. 1. 5.*

All this Commission and Instruction was given particularly to the *Apostles*, as being his *Prime* and Special Delegates, whom he intrusted with the Affairs of his Church, to act and do, in his Name and his Authority; And this is the common Notion and Importance of the Word *Apostle*, according to the use of the Word among the *Jews*: He is a Messenger endued with peculiar Letters of Authority and Commission, whereby he acts as Proxy and Deputy of him who sends him; and it is a Proverb among the *Jews*, that *every Man's Apostle is as himself*: What he does by vertue of his Commission, is look'd upon to be as firm and valid, as if the Person himself had done it.

These *Twelve* then whom Christ named *Apostles*, were to represent his Person, to act as his special *Ambassadors*, to communicate his Will and Mind, to preach and propagate his Gospel, to instruct and disciple the World in the Doc- trines

trines and Precepts of Christianity, and on this Doctrine to found and build the Church, and to govern the same in his Name and Authority, constituting and ordaining Ministers of Religion, settling good Order, and disposing all Affairs for the Edification of the Church, determining and deciding Controversies in Religion, composing Differences, inspecting and superintending the ordinary Pastors in the Discharge of their Office, censuring and punishing contumacious Offenders, and loosing such as were Penitent. This the Apostle calls the *Care of all the Churches*, especially them of his Province, 2 Cor. 11. 28; for, their Commission was unlimited and universal, not only in respect of *Power*, to discharge all Acts of Religion, relating either to *Ministry* or *Government*; but also in respect of *Place*, not being confined to any particular Province, but sent to the whole World; yet for the more orderly executing their Commission, they are said, by the Ancients to have parcelled the World among them: and something like this seems to be insinuated on two several occasions by St. *Paul* himself.

This *Power* and *Authority* conveyed by Commission to the Apostles, was equally conferred upon all of them: Whatever Order there was among them, yet no *Superiority* or *Power* of one Apostle above another, 2 Cor. 10. 13. Gal. 2. 9: Though *Paul*, with respect to his former state, counted himself the least of all the Apostles, being before a Persecutor, and one born out of time, as he words it. Yet as to *Power* and *Authority*, he owns himself not Inferior even to the *chiefest Apostles*. 1 Cor. 15. 9, 10.

And as their *Office* was high and eminent, no less were the *Gifts* and *Endowments*, by which they were qualified for it:

it: They had been Eye and Ear Witnesſes of Chriſt's Life, Doctrines, Miracles; and beſides the benefit of his publick Miniſtry, had enjoyed the Advantage of his private Converſe, and were well acquainted with all the Paſſages of his Life, at leaſt from his entering into his *publick Miniſtry*, till the Day of *Aſcenſion*: They were immediately taught and inſtructed by him in all things, pertaining to the Kingdom of GOD: He had opened their Minds to underſtand the Scriptures, and endued them with the *Holy Ghoſt*, to guide them into all Truth, ſo that they were infallibly ſecured from Error, in delivering the Doctrines and Principles of Chriſtiani- ty: And to confirm their Doctrines, they were endued with many *Extraordinary Gifts and Powers*, to work Miracles, to heal all manner of Diſeaſes, to caſt out Devils, to ſpeak with divers Tongues, to interpret ſtrange Tongues, to foretel things to come, to diſcern Spirits, to inflict Corporal Punishments on Notorious Sinners; and (which was peculiar to them) they had Power to confer theſe *Extraordinary Gifts* upon others.

Thus have I given you an Account of the Commiſſion by which the Apoſtles acted, I come now to conſider the Commiſſion given to the other Order of *Church Officers*, inſtituted by Chriſt, the *Seventy Diſciples*; in whom the *Order of Presbyters* and ordinary *Paſtors* and *Teachers* is ſuppoſed to be founded: Now, as it is already ſhewn, They received their Commiſſion immediately from Chriſt, as well as the Apoſtles, and were authorized to preach the *Gospel*, and endued with *Extraordinary Gifts* of working Miracles, healing Diſeaſes, &c. and unto them no leſs than unto the *Apoſtles*, Chriſt ſaid, *He that heareth you, heareth me, and he*
that

that rejecteth you, rejecteth me, and he that rejecteth me, rejecteth him that sent me. So that in their Measure and Proportion, so far as their Commission extended, they were Christ's *Messengers* and *Ambassadors* also, though not in the same *Order* and *Quality* with the *Apostles*, as we have seen in part already. Luke 10. 16.

Indeed from the Account we have of them and their Ministry in the Sacred History, we cannot frame a more just and true Notion of this *Second Order* of *Church Officers*, than that they were instituted to be *Assistants* and *Helpers* to the *Apostles* in the Work of the *Gospel*.

And I know nothing which will give us a better Reason for this Notion than this Consideration, that as it was the same *Lord* and *Law-giver*, the same *Master-builder*, who had framed the *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical Policy* among the *Jews*, under the *Legal Dispensation*, who does Erect this *New Fabrick* of his *Gospel-Church*; so 'tis reasonable to expect as great a Symmetry and Proportion between the one and the other, as the Difference of the two *Dispensations* will allow: And it is the Opinion of many Ancient and Modern Divines, That our Blessed Lord in many of his *Gospel Institutions*, had some respect to the state of things in the *Jewish Church*, as might be shewed in many Instances: And particularly will appear in these Offices, which he instituted in the *Gospel Church*, not only in making them of a *Superior* and *Inferior Order*, as under the *Mosaick Dispensation*, but also, as to the Reason and Design of these different Orders; for after *Aaron* and his Sons were installed in the Priest's Office, GOD gave unto them the whole Tribe of *Levi* to Minister unto them, in the Charge of the Tabernacle,

Numb. 3. So also, when *Moses* was vexed with the untowardness of the People, and complained to GOD of the Weight and Burden of his Charge, and that the Care and Government of such an unruly People was committed to him alone, Numb. 11; the Lord orders that *Seventy* Men, of the *Elders* of the People, be chosen and presented before him at the Door of the Tabernacle, and he took of the Spirit that was upon *Moses*, and put it upon them, that they might bear the burden of the People with him, and he might not bear it alone. Now, whether the *Apostles* after their first Progress, returned, with any such Complaint of the greatness of their Charge, we read not, except it be insinuated by St. *Mark*, when he says, That after their return, Christ called them apart to a desert Place to rest themselves a while, Mark 6. 31: However, certain it is, our Blessed Lord well knew the greatness of their Work, and shortly after, instituted that other *Order* of Gospel Ministers, the *Seventy* to be Assistants to the Apostles; and accordingly we find the Apostles frequently making use of the Ministry and Assistance of them of that *Second Order*, either taking some of them along with them in their Travels, to Minister unto them in propagating the Gospel among the *Jews* or Heathens; or else fixing them in places where the Gospel was received, and Churches founded; or else in sending them with Apostolick Orders to Churches that were at a distance: And 'tis probable that according to the different Exercises of their Ministry, they were designed sometimes *Evanglists*, when they laboured in converting *Jews*, or Heathens to the Faith; sometimes *Pastors* and *Teachers*, when they exercised their Ministry among them that were already converted; and generally

generally they pass under the Name of *Brethren* and *Elders*, or *Presbyters*, in distinction from the *Apostles*.

From these *different Commissions* given to the *Apostles* and the *Seventy*, 'tis evident that there was a *Distinction* betwixt their *Offices*, and that the Apostolick Office was Superior to that of the *Seventy*, which great Truth may also farther be shown by several very weighty Arguments: For although the *Apostles* did manage the Authority we suppose they had, so much with the Spirit of their Lord and Master, who, though he was their Lord and Master, yet humbled himself *to wash their Feet*, and treated them rather as Friends than Servants, and behaved himself among them as one that served, although they (I say) following his Example, behaved themselves with the greatest gentleness and sweetness of Temper toward their Inferiors seldom making use of their Authority in any severe manner, John 13. 13. 15. 15. Luke 22. 27; whereof we have a notable Instance in the Epistle of *Paul* to *Philemon*, a Minister of the Gospel, where he says, *Though I might be much bold in Christ to enjoyn thee, that which is convenient, yet for loves sake, I rather beseech thee.* Philem. ver. 8, 9. Yet, that they had such Authority over the other Pastors and Teachers in the Church, appears from several Instances of their exercising it in several respects and ways, as is recorded in the Sacred History. I shall instance in some particulars in Confirmation of this Truth, in the order as they occur to us in Holy Writ.

1. And *First*, we read that the *Apostles* abode for some time in *Jerusalem*, and the *Brethren* with them (no doubt according to some Order given them by their Lord) to settle and

establish the Christian Church there; but when the Persecution arose about *Stephen*, all almost, except the Apostles, were scattered abroad through the Regions of *Judæa* and *Samarina*: *Philip*, one of the Seven Deacons, went down to *Samarina*, preached the Gospel, wrought Miracles, converted many of that City to the Faith, and initiated his Converts by Baptism: Others went as far as *Phenice*, *Cyprus*, and *Antioch*, where a great number believed and turned to the Lord: When the Apostles heard of this, *Peter* and *John* are sent to *Samarina*, to confirm and settle the Church there, and to confer upon them the Gifts of the Holy Ghost. Acts 8. 14. For though the Brethren had Power to Preach and Baptize, and Work Miracles, yet it belonged to the *Apostles* to settle and establish Order in the new founded Churches, and to confer the Gifts of the Holy Ghost: *Paul* and *Barnabas* were also sent to *Antioch* upon the like Errand. Acts 11. 26.

2. *Secondly*, We find that when the Apostles went abroad to execute their Commission in *Disciplining* the World, they were attended by some of the Brethren, as their Assistants and Ministers: Six attended *Peter* from *Joppa* to *Cæsarea*, and from thence to *Jerusalem*: and to them it was that he gave Orders for Baptizing *Cornelius's* Family; and them he brings as Witnesses for his Vindication, when challenged by them of the Circumcision, for his Converse with the *Gentiles*. Acts 10. 13, 38. *Paul* and *Barnabas* had *John*, surnamed *Mark*, one of the *Seventy*, for their Minister, in their first Progress, who after some time *departed from them*, for which *Paul* is highly displeas'd with him, and will not admit him again to be one of his Attendants, because he had departed and

and went not with them to the Work. Acts 11. 12. 12. 25. 13. 5. Verse 13. 15. 38. This was the occasion of some Contention betwixt *Paul* and *Barnabas*, which came to that height, that they departed afunder the one from the other; *Barnabas* going to *Cyprus*, attended by *Mark*, his Sister's Son; and *Paul* to *Syria* and *Cilicia*, attended by *Silas*.

As *Paul's* Province was enlarged, by the Conversion of many Cities and Countries unto the Faith, the Number of his Attendants and Assitants in the Work of the Gospel did also increase, many accompanied him from place to place, besides these Pastors, whom he settled in every City that had received the Gospel.

3. *Thirdly*, These *Inferior Pastors* were generally very obsequious to the Orders of the *Apostles*, going whither they sent them to Visit planted Churches; coming when they called them, to give their personal Attendance; and serving with them in the Work of the Gospel, as Sons with their Fathers, as *Paul* says of *Timothy*. Phil. 2. 22.

4. *Fourthly*, When any of them proved Refractory and Disobedient to the Orders of the *Apostles*, they are blamed for it, and sometimes threatned with Censures; such were some Teachers at *Corinth*, who despised and decried *Paul's* Apostleship, whom he threatens for their disorderly Conduct with the Apostolical Rod. 1 Cor. 4: 18, 19.

5. *Fifthly*, And when he is giving *Apostolical Orders*, for Re-pressing and Reforming some Irregularities and Abuses in the Publick Worship, occasioned through the Pride or Impudence of some of their Prophets and Teachers, who (it seems) were too much puffed up with their Spiritual Gifts; he writes to them in an Authoritative Stile; *What?* says he.

he, *Came the Word of God out from you, or came it unto you only? If any Man think himself to be a Prophet or Spiritual, Let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you, are the Commandments of the Lord, i. e.* that I as an Apostle, have Power from the Lord to give Commandments and Orders in these matters, which concern the decent and orderly Performance of the Publick Worship; but if any be ignorant, let him be ignorant. 1 Cor. 14. 36, 37. He complains also of others, who *added Affliction to his Bonds, preaching Christ out of Contention and Strife*, disowning his Apostleship, refusing to receive his Commands; yea walking contrary to his Orders, while others preached Christ out of *Love*, owning his Apostleship, *knowing that he was set for the Defence of the Gospel*. Phil. 1. 15, &c. And when this holy Apostle's Back was at the Wall, in Prison, and hazard of Death, many who had been formerly his Attendants and Assistants in the Gospel-work, deserted him, when he stood most in need of their Ministry; which, he prays, might not be *laid to their charge*. 2 Tim. 4. 10, 16.

6. *Sixthly*, In like manner St. *John the Apostle* complains of one *Diotrephes*, who *affected a pre-eminence* over the Church, disowned the Authority of the Apostle, refused to receive the Orders which he sent to the Church, or the Brethren by whom he sent them; yea, presumptuously took upon him to cast these Brethren, and such who were willing to receive them, out of the Communion of the Church, and to all, added contemptuous and slighting Words of the *Apostle*; whom the *Apostle* threatens, when he comes, to chastise for his Pride and Insolence, in rejecting the Orders of his Superior, and arrogating to himself that Superiority to which he

he had no Call or Title; for which Malepertness, the Apostle no doubt exercised his Apostolical Power in censuring him, if he did not prevent it by Repentance. John 3. 9, 10.

In a Word, through all the *New-Testament* History, we read of none who opposed the *Authority of the Apostles*, but such as were *Hereticks* and *Disturbers* of the Church's Peace, who every where made it their Business to depress the Credit and Authority of the *True Apostles*, 2 Cor. 11. 13, 14; and to gain the more easily Profelites to their false Doctrines, they either pretend that they themselves were Apostles, or else that they themselves were Commissioned by the Apostles, whereas truly they were such as had departed from the Communion of the Apostles, as St. *John* tells us. Acts 15. 24. 1 John 2. 19. Jude 11. And St. *Jude* gives us this Account of them, *Wo unto them, they have gone in the way of Cain, a Murderer of his Brother, and ran greedily after the Error of Balaam, a covetous Wretch, and have perished in the gain-saying of Corah, a proud ambitious Levite, who disdaining to subject himself to that Order God had settled in his Church, and Murmuring to be set in a lower Station among the Levites, aspired to the Priesthood.* Numb. 16. 8, 9, 10. Now it is not easy to understand, how these *Hereticks* could correspond with *Corah* in his Sin, if Christ had settled a *Parity among Church-Officers*, and not a *Superior and Inferior Order*.

And as all true Pastors and Teachers were faithful and dutiful Assistants and Helpers, with the *Apostles* in the Work of the Gospel, and punctual observers of all Apostolick Orders and Commands: So on the other hand, The *Apostles* pay'd always that respect unto the Pastors, that was due unto their Character,

after, not treating them as Underlings and Servants, but as Brethren and Fellow-labourers and Helpers, admitting them to all their Consultations about Church Affairs, joyning their Names with their own, in the Apostolical Decrees and Constitutions; yet always, with a clear Indication of Distinction and *Subordination* of their Order unto that of the *Apostles*. See Acts 1. and 15. 22, 23. Yea, and in some of *Paul's* Epistles to the Churches, after that he designs himself the *Apostle of Jesus Christ*, he subjoyns the Names of some of his Brethren, his Assistants and Fellow-helpers in the Work of the Gospel. And he does most earnestly recommend to the Church, That they have their *Pastors* in Reputation and Honour. Philip. 2. 29. *That they know them that labour among them, and are over them in the Lord, and admonish them, and that they esteem them very highly in love for their works sake.* That they remember their Rulers with Respect, obey them, and be subject to them. 1 Theff. 5. 12, 13. Heb. 13. 6. and 17.

Notwithstanding which, when his Apostleship is called in question, or when it is set upon a Level with the *Inferior Order*, with what holy Zeal does he assert the Dignity and Authority of his *Apostleship*: So when the Factious *Corinthians* began to state themselves in Parties, and to set in Opposition, or at least upon a Level with him, some of their Teachers, saying, *I am of Paul, and I of Apollo*: He owns *himself* the Planter, *Apollo* the Waterer: *Himself* the Master-builder, *Apollo*, and others, as Builders with him. 1 Cor. 3. 6. &c. Chap. 4: 6. 'Tis true, in this matter, he but borrows his own Name and *Apollo's*, as he tells us; for it was far from the Apostles to set up themselves, as Heads of Factions

one against another, neither did any of the faithful Pastors, such as *Apollo* was, attempt any such thing. No, it was the turbulent Pastors and Teachers who introduced these Factions, with design, no doubt, to depress the Authority of the Apostle, and advance their own, and to gain Followers. To correct the Arrogance of these Teachers, who being puffed up with their Spiritual Gifts, durst thus set up themselves in Competition with, or Opposition to, the Apostle; and the Fickleness and Fondness of the *Corinthians*, their Admirers and Followers, he represents several things, and an heavy Complaint of the ill Treatment he, and other Apostles, had met with from them. He puts them in mind, that *though they had ten thousand Instructors in Christ*, yet they were obliged to own *him as their Father, who had begotten them in Christ by the Gospel*, and therefore ought to be Followers of him. And if this his Fatherly Admonition did not reclaim them, he threatens both these Factious Teachers and their Abettors with his Apostolick Rod. 1 Cor. 4. It was upon the same, or the like occasion, that we find him with holy Keenness asserting and proving his Apostleship, magnifying his Office, boasting of that Authority he had received from Christ, and once and again maintaining that he was not *Inferior to the chiefest Apostles*. 1 Cor. 9. 2 Cor. 10. 11, 12, 13. Chapters. To what purpose all this, either their denying his Apostleship, or his strenuously asserting it, if there had not been an *Eminency of Power and Authority* in the *Apostolate*, above the *Ordinary* Pastor and Teacher?

Prophecy, says *Chrysoftome*, Serm. de util. S Scrip. Tom 8. pag. 114. Edit. Savil, the Gift of Miracles, the expelling *Demons*, the Order of Pastors and Teachers, were all Spiritual

itual Powers, and Ensigns of great Authority; but the Apostolic Eminency was far greater than all these, which he therefore calls a Spiritual Consulship. An Apostle having as great Pre-eminence above other Officers in the Church, as the Consul had above all other Magistrates in *Rome*; which is allow'd by *Calvin*, who acknowledges a Bishop to be, *ut Consul in Senatu*, as Consul in the Senate. Inst. Lib. 4. Cap. 4. Sect. 2.

Thus, I think, I have done with what I propos'd to make appear in the Second Place, having demonstratively shown how the Gospel-Officers were distinguished, and that there was a Disparity among them.

III. I am to examine, *Thirdly*, Whether any of them were Extraordinary and Temporary, and prove that they were not; but design'd to be perpetual and standing in the Church.

And this is the Hinge on which the whole Controversy in this matter depends, yea, all the Authority and Obligation of Christ's first institution, as to the present Church; for if his Institution was Extraordinary and Temporary in any part, it is so far as it was of this Nature, no Rule or Standard now: But if the Order he instituted was to be perpetual and standing, then it continues Obligatory to the end of the World; and it must be to all Christians, what the Pattern in the Mount was to *Moses* and the *Jews*, a constant Standard by which the Church is to be moulded and framed in all After-Ages: I shall therefore impartially examine into this matter.

And, *1st*, it is acknowledged by all, that many of the Gifts and Powers wherewith both Apostles, and other Pastors were

were endued, were *Extraordinary* and *Temporary*, being designed only, as the Apostle says of Tongues, *for Signs*, to convince Unbelievers of the Divinity of that Doctrine which they saw attested by such *Miraculous Operations*, 1 Cor. 14. 22: But the Gospel-Doctrine being once sufficiently attested and confirmed, there was no further need of continuing them, and they have long since ceased in the Church.

2dly, 'Tis also acknowledged, that some things *peculiar* to the first *Apostles*, were *Extraordinary* and *Temporary*, and expired with their Persons. Such as, Their having been eye and ear Witnesses of Christ's Life, Doctrine, Miracles, Sufferings, Resurrection and Ascension. Their having received their Commission immediately from Christ. Their being infallible Guides in delivering the Doctrines of the Gospel. Their unlimited Commission to all the World, and Jurisdiction over all Churches. Their Power to confer miraculous Gifts on others, to discern Spirits, and to back their Censures with corporal Punishments, as on *Ananias* and *Saphira* and *Elimas*: and perhaps, to these may be added their power to institute new Gospel Officers and Ministers, as the exigence of the Church should require; as they did that of *Deacons*. All these extraordinary Powers and Gifts, whether they which were peculiar to the Apostles, or such as were common to them and other inferiour Ministers, had a particular respect to the first planting of the Gospel, and the erecting and constituting of the Christian Church in the World: which when performed, these extraordinary Powers ceased: but,

3dly, Besides these, There was the ordinary Power and Authority of the Apostles, which was to serve the Edification,

tion, good Order and Government of the Constituted Church in all succeeding Ages: Such as, Their power to preach the Gospel, administer the Sacraments, and perform all the Offices of Religion, common to them with other Pastors. More particularly, to preserve the Offices instituted by Christ in his Church, by ordaining Ministers of Religion in all the three distinct Offices: To Govern the Churches, and superintend both Pastors and People: To Judge, Correct and Censure Misdemeanors either in the one or other: To settle good Constitutions agreeable to the Word of God, for the orderly and decent performance of all the Ordinances of Religion, Publick Worship and other Affairs of Discipline, as the exigence of the Church should require: And finally, By their Authority and Care, to preserve the Church from the Corruptions of Error, Superstition, Faction, Schism, and Prophaness, by their right use of the Keys and the Power of binding and loosing committed to them: All which are proper parts of the Apostolick Office, always necessary for the good of the Church; and no part more necessary than their Authoritative Inspection, over the ordinary Pastors, that they be well qualified for the Pastoral Office before they be admitted thereto, and when admitted, they perform the same, with Faithfulness and Diligence, with Prudence and Discretion, and in Peace and Concord with their Brethren. Now, these things being Premised, I come to an impartial Examination of the matter in hand.

And here I must needs confess I think there is nothing more evident upon the slightest Examination than that Christ in Instituting these Orders and Offices, designed, that they should be standing and unalterable Constitutions in his Church,

Church, to continue for its Edification to the end of the World: And of none, is the unalterableness of Institution more evident, than of the Apostolick Office, (which some contend to be temporary and extraordinary.)

For 1st, When Christ gave them their full and last Commission, Mat. 28. 19, He enjoyns them to reach all Nations, whom they should Disciple, to observe all things whatsoever he had *commanded them*, of which the *Order* and *Offices*, he had instituted, were a part, which accordingly they were to settle in all new founded Churches: And then he adds, *Lo I am with you alway to the end of the World*: But how could that be, if their Office was to expire with themselves? We must then understand it, as a promise, not to them only, but to their *Successors* also: not to their *Persons* only, but to their *Office*, which was to continue to the end of the World, even so long as Christ was to have a Church upon Earth.

2^{dly}, The Apostle S. Paul tells us, 1 Cor. 12. 28, *God hath set some in his Church, first Apostles, secondly Prophets, thirdly Teachers* (what follow, are not distinct Offices from these, but extraordinary Gifts conferred on them.) *God hath set*, even He, who settled the Ordinances of Heaven, which none can alter, hath fixed these different Orders in his Church: or rather, to use the Apostles Simile, as God hath set various and different Members in the natural Body, some more excellent and honourable, yet, all useful and necessary to the Beauty and Integrity of the whole; he has done the same by his Church: So that whoever would deprive the Church of any of these Sacred Offices set in it by God, endeavours no less than to mutilate and deform it, to pluck out one of its Eyes, or cut off one of its Hands: And how
heinous

heinous the Guilt must be, so to treat the Body whereof Christ Jesus is Head, let them consider who presume to do it.

But farther, Thirdly, in the 4th Chapter of the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, we have an uncontestible Testimony, proving the perpetual continuance of these Offices instituted by Christ, taken from the end and design for which they were instituted, Eph. 4. 11, 12, 13, 14: *He gave some Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, some Pastors and Teachers, for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Ministry, for the edifying the Body of Christ, till we all come in the unity of the Faith and of the Knowledge of the Son of GOD unto a perfect Man, unto the Measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ; That we henceforth be no more Children tossed to and fro, and carried about by every wind of Doctrine, by the slight of Men and cunning Craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive: Where it is plain, these Offices were to continue till the Church should be perfected, fully brought in, and fully advanced, and till it should be beyond all hazard of being seduced, that is, to the end of the World. We see the end for which these Offices were Instituted, and how long they were to continue, expressly set down.*

If any say, That here are more Offices than are pleaded for: The Answer is obvious, that these different Designations do not import different Offices, but different Exercises of the same Office: For Instance, an Apostle, Presbyter or Deacon, might be a Prophet, Evangelist, Doctor or Teacher. If employed in converting Jews or Heathens to the Faith, he did the Work of an Evangelist, and on this Account *Philip*, one of the seven Deacons, is so call'd. If
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in Instructing them who were already Converted, that was the Work of an *ordinary Pastor*: If he laboured mainly in explaining and confirming the Doctrines of Christianity, he acted the Part of a *Doct̄or* or *Teacher*: If he further improved these Doctrines to Edification, Exhortation and Comfort, that was the Work of the *Prophet*, in the Gospel Sense. Thus *Judas* and *Silas*, two Presbyters, are called *Prophets*; so that all these are reducible to the three Offices, of whose Institution we have given a particular Account. Acts 21. 8. 1 Cor. 14. 3. Acts 15. 32.

And now, if these different Orders of Gospel Ministers instituted by Christ, were designed by him to be perpetual standing Offices in his Church, for its Edification, good Order and Government, *to the end of the World*, as is evident from what hath been said; there must of Necessity be a Succession of Persons, duly called to these Offices, according to Christ's Institution, that the Offices themselves may be capable of continuing standing in the Church.

And to erect and set up a new Office Paramount to these instituted by Christ, such as the *Papacy*, is intolerable Presumption; for who can have a Power and Authority in the Church above *Apostles* who were Christ's immediate Delegates, but Christ himself?

And it is no less Presumption to cut off, or abrogate any of these Sacred Offices: 'Tis an overturning that Order established by Christ in his Church, and altering and changing his Institution: It is a Sacrilegious Robbing the Church of these Ministers which Christ in his infinite Wisdom thought necessary for her Edification and Perfection. You know what a dreadful Curse is pronounced against them, who
either

either add to, or take away from, the Institutions of Jesus Christ in the 18th and 19th Verses of the 22d Chapter of the *Revelations* of St. *John*.

If it be pretended, that now at least, in the present State of the Church, both the *Apostolick* and *Prophetick Offices*, may be, to as good Purpose, and as great Benefit of the Church, performed by the *ordinary Pastors*, acting in *Parity*, and that it is therefore needless to keep a distinction of Offices: This is to pretend to be wiser than Christ: It is to confound and jumble together the different Orders instituted by him: It is to set up a new Model different from what he not only established, but also appointed to continue in his Church to the end of the World; it is to cashier Christ's *Prime Officers* and *Representatives*, and the Churches *principal Guides*: And to deprive the Church of the Pledges of her Lord's Care and Kindness which he gave her, when he Ascended up unto Heaven.

If then our Blessed Lord's Institution be preserved, there must be *Apostles*, as well as *Presbyters* and *Deacons* who are not disputed, that is, Successors to them in their Office in the Christian Church: And who are they? Sure, not every *Pastor*, nor yet any number of them, however moduled into lesser or larger Judicatories: I Honour their *Order* and *Office*, but would not have them take too much upon them, nor go beyond their Sphere: They are indeed the *Successors* of the *Seventy*, if duly admitted to the *Pastoral Office*, and may well rejoyce in that honourable Station to which they are advanced in God's Church, if they Walk worthy of it; but let them remember, that the whole *Seventy* could not fill the Chair of one *Apostle*, (for no Man may take
this

this Honour to himself, but he that is called of *GOD*) until the Holy Ghost did determine the Choice of one to that High Office: I doubt not, but there were upwards of seven hundred Eminent Pastors, and all endued with *Extraordinary Gifts*, in the Days of the Apostles: But *were all Apostles?* Says *St. Paul*, No, they were not.

IV. Which brings me to what I promis'd in the *Fourth* and *Last* Place, to shew, supposing these Church-Offices to be standing, who succeed in them, and rightly execute them to this Day.

I need but do it of the Successors to the Apostles, for when that is done, the other comes in of Course.

And in clearing this Point, I must put you in mind of what was observed under the foregoing Head, That the *Apostles* were endued with some Powers and Gifts, which had a peculiar Reference to the first Planting and Propagating the Gospel, and the first Gathering and Constituting the Christian Church: These were *Extraordinary*, and did expire with themselves; and in these they have no Successors.

But the question is concerning the *Ordinary Power and Authority* of the Apostolick Office, as it was instituted and appointed by Christ, to be a standing and continuing Office in his Church when constituted, to serve for the Edification, good Order and Government thereof to all succeeding Ages: The Apostles were an Order of the Gospel-Ministers, Superior to Ordinary Pastors and Teachers, to whom Christ in a special Manner committed the Care and Government of his Church: To dispense the Word and Sacraments, and perform all Offices of Religion: To Ordain Ministers of Religion

Religion according to his Institution: To Govern and Superintend his Church both Pastors and People: To Judge, Correct, and Censure Misdemeanors in the one or other: To settle good Orders and Constitutions for the orderly and decent performance of all Ordinances of Religion, Publick Worship, and Exercise of Discipline, and to preserve the Church from Corruption of Error, Superstition, Faction, Schism, and all Irregular Practices. All these are proper Parts of the *Apostolic Office*, always necessary for the good of the Church; and they are also the proper Offices of a *Bishop*, *Overseer* or *Superintendent*. So that 'tis very evident, that in this ordinary and continuing Part of the Apostolick Office, Christ hath instituted the standing Office of *Bishops* in his Church, that is an Order of Gospel-Ministers, Superior to Pastors and Teachers, to whom he hath committed the Power and Authority above-mentioned.

That the *Apostles* were actually *Bishops*, and their *Apostleship* a proper *Episcopacy*, as it is expressly called, *Acts* i. 20. and that they actually exerted an *Episcopal Power* and *Jurisdiction* over the Churches, and the ordinary *Pastors* and *Teachers*, *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, I have fully shewed in the Second Inquiry. And accordingly we find the Ancients do frequently in their Writings call the *Apostles*, *Bishops*; and no less frequently do they stile the *Bishops* *Apostles*, as being their Successors in ordinary; by which 'tis evident, they understood, that in the *Apostles*, the *Episcopal Office* was instituted, and that in *Bishops* the *Apostolical Office* is continued in the Church: But this is beyond my Province, having confin'd my self in this Inquiry, to what Light the Sacred Records afford.

And in consulting them we find it evident, *First*, That the *Apostles* were a *Superior Order* of Gospel-Ministers to *Presbyters* and *Ordinary Pastors* and *Teachers*: That to these Apostles Christ Committed the chief Care & Government of his Church, as his special and immediate Delegates and Trustees: That the *Inferior Pastors* and *Teachers* did always own and acknowledge the Apostles as their Superiors, and did readily receive and obey their Orders: That this *Apostolick Order*, Superior to *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, was to continue in the Church: all which we have fully cleared from Scripture in the former Enquiries. Now, what Order of Gospel-Ministers is there, *Superior to Ordinary Pastors and Teachers*, but that of *Bishops*, in whom the *Apostolick Order* is continued in the Church?

Either then *Bishops* must be the true Successors of the *Apostles*, or else they have no Successors at all, and the *Apostolick Order* and *Office* is quite Extinct, and the Church is totally deprived of the prime and chiefest Office instituted by Christ for its Edification, good Order and Government: And finally, There is now no such Order of Men extant in the World, to whom that large and ample Commission which Christ gave only to his *Apostles*, does belong: To them it was he gave the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, the Power of Binding and Loosing: Them he sent as his Legates and Ambassadors to the World, as the Father had sent him: Them he instructed in, and entrusted with the great Affairs of his Kingdom, and to them he made that encouraging and gracious Promise, *Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the World.* Now, who can lay Claim to that Commission, or the Promise annexed, but the *Apostles* and their

Successors? And if they have no Successors now, that they themselves are Dead, all that Commission falls, and the Promise with it; which is absurd to think, and 'tis horrid even to conceive what consequences would follow.

Secondly, It is evident also from Scripture, That the *Apostles* in their own time did confer upon others the *Apostolick Power and Authority*; which they had never done, if they had thought that the Office was confined to their own Persons, and was to end with their respective Lives: They understood better the Mind of their Lord and Master, and the Importance of his Promise to be with them *to the end of the World*. Hence they rightly concluded, That they were to commit the Commission given to them, unto the Hands of other faithful Persons, who should in like manner transmit it to others in a continual Succession, *to the end of the World*. Accordingly their first Work was to chuse one to succeed *Judas*; and by the Direction of God, *Matthias* is received into the number of the Apostles: So when *James*, the Brother of *John*, is killed by *Herod*, another of that Name was Bishop of *Jerusalem*; to whom as such, *St. Peter* notifies his miraculous Deliverance. He who presided in the Council at *Jerusalem*. Acts 12. 17. Acts 15. Acts 21. 18. He to whom *St. Paul* made his Address when he came thither: and he of whom he speaks in the 19th Verse of the first Chapter of the Epistle to the *Galatians*, whom he calls an *Apostle*, and the *Lord's Brother*: This *James* some will have to be another, than *James*, commonly called *the Less*, one of the first Twelve Apostles; that he was one of the *Seventy*, commonly called *James the Just*, advanced to the *Apostolate*; but however this be, certain it is, That *Paul* and
Barnabas

Barnabas were received into the *Apostolick Office*, *Paul* immediately called thereunto by Christ at his Conversion. Acts 26. 16. But *Barnabas* in the ordinary manner, when he received that new Name from the Apostles, which signifies *Son of Consolation*. Acts 4. 36, 37. Both of them owned afterwards by the Apostles, *James*, *Peter*, and *John*, as their Fellow Apostles; and in Testimony thereof, they gave them the Right hand of Fellowship, and a particular Commission to the *Gentiles*. Galat. 2. 9.

Besides these we read of others rais'd from among the Ordinary Pastors to the Apostolical or Episcopal Order; and endued with a Power and Authority over Churches, and their Pastors and Presbyters; (under what Designation I shall not dispute, inasmuch as the thing is evidently Matter of Fact) for after this manner, *Paul* actually gave to *Timothy* such an *Episcopal Power* over the Church of *Ephesus*, and the Presbyters and Pastors thereof; by vertue of which Commission, he is Authorized and Instructed in all the Exercise of the *Episcopal Power*. To Command and Charge them, (the Pastors) that they Preach sound Doctrine, 1 Tim. 1. 3. Chap. 2: To prescribe Rules for the Publick Worship, particularly, that Prayers be offered up for all in Authority: To examine and judge Persons duly qualified for the Sacred Offices of the Gospel, and to give *Impositions of Hands to*, or Ordain none but such as are found duly qualified, Chap. 3. And 5. 22: To guard diligently against false Doctrines and seducing Spirits, and put the Brethren in mind, and command them that they give not heed to such Doctrines and Seducers: To Judge, Correct and Censure Offenders even Presbyters, after due Examination and Con-
viction,

viction, Chap. 4. Ch. 5. 19. 20: To encourage and promote to higher Degrees such Deacons or Presbyters as were faithful and diligent, Chap. 3. 13. And 5. 17: And, in a Word, he is instructed how in all things to behave himself, as a good Ruler and Governour in the Church committed to his Care and Inspection; and that with these very remarkably solemn Obtestations, Chap. 5. 22. Chap. 6. 13, 14. Ver. 20: *I charge thee before God, that thou observe these things without partiality or preferring one before another. I give thee charge in the sight of God and of Jesus Christ, that thou keep this Commandment. O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy Trust.* The like Power and Authority is conferred on Titus over the Churches in Crete. Titus 4. 5. Ver. 9, 10, 11. *That he should set in Order the things that were wanting, and ordain Elders or Presbyters in every City: And, that he should stop the Mouths of the unruly who taught things they ought not: And that he should rebuke them sharply that they may be sound in the Faith: And that if any after due Admonitions, should continue obstinate, he should censure him with Deposition and Excommunication.* Chap. 3. 10.

These are such evident Proofs of an *Apostolical* or *Episcopal Power* conferred upon one *Pastor* over other *Pastors* and *Teachers*, as ought in Reason to satisfy all Men who are not immediately prejudiced against the *Episcopal Order*. I will not contend, but that in the *Exercise of this Power*, they may have taken the Advice and Concurrence of the Faithful *Pastors* in these Churches, and concerted Affairs with them: and not done things in an Arbitrary and despotick manner, as *Calvin* observes: Yet he allows they had such a *Pre-*
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gency over the *Pastors*, as the *Roman Consul* had in the *Senate*, and more I plead not for. Calvin's *Inst. Lib. 4. Cap. 3. Sect. 15.*

If it be said, That *Timothy* and *Titus* acted only as *Paul's* Delegates, it weakens not the Argument, but rather corroborates it, for it still holds that there was in the *Apostles*, a *Superior Power and Office*, above that of *Presbyters* which might be conferred upon and committed to another, whether by Delegation, or by Investiture and Ordination of the Person into the Office, to which that *Power* and *Authority* belonged, comes all to one. It is to as little purpose to say, that *Timothy* and *Titus* exercised this *Power* and *Authority* over the *Pastors* of *Ephesus* and *Crete*, as *Evangalists*: for 1. If the *Power* was really *Apostolical* and *Episcopal*, 'tis all one under whatever designation they exercised it; But 2dly, 'Tis altogether groundless; for we find no such Office of an *Evangalists* instituted, distinct from that of *Apostle*, *Presbyter*, or *Deacon*, but that it was a common designation to all who were the first Planters of the Gospel among *Jews*, or *Heathens*, which cannot hold in the present case, for their Commission is not only to the unconverted Heathens at *Ephesus* or *Crete*, but to the Churches already settled, and *Pastors* instituted, in the actual Exercise of their Ministry in these places over whom they are charged to exercise this *Episcopal Authority*, as they will answer to *Jesus Christ*, the Supreme Lord of his Church.

And what hath been hitherto observed, makes it to me, very evident, and I think may make it to any other unprejudic'd Person at least highly probable, That the *Angels* of the *Seven Churches* of the lesser *Asia*, were Persons of the *Apostolical*

Apostolical and *Episcopal* Order: For since there was such an Office of *Apostles* and *Bishops* instituted by Christ in his Church, whose Office was to Superintend Churches and the Pastors thereof, and by their Authority to settle good Order, to prevent and correct Abuses and Corruptions in *Pastors* and *People*: Who else could these *Angels* be, but Officers of this higher Order? Who therefore are accountable for, and charged Particularly with, any Disorder or Corruption tolerated in their respective Churches: And commended for suppressing and correcting these Disorders, and Purgings their Churches of Heretical Teachers.

And, Finally, we cannot entertain the least Doubt of it in our Minds, but that the *Holy Apostles*, to whom our Lord gave special Commission and Power, to Plant and Settle, and Govern his Church in his Name, would be most faithful and exact, in settling that Order, and Instituting these Offices, in all fully constituted Churches, which their Lord had appointed; and would be careful to leave the Church at their Death, under the same Order and Government, furnished with the same Offices and Ministers which Christ himself her Lord, had instituted and appointed for her Edification.

Neither can it be conceiv'd, that any Christian Church could look on herself as rightly Constituted, if any of these sacred Offices instituted by Christ and his Apostles had been wanting.

And now, having plainly from uncontestible Matters of Fact, Recorded in the New Testament, represented the *Order* and *Government*, the different Offices and Powers instituted by *Christ* and his *Apostles*, in the first modeling of the Christian Church; I might add for Confirmation of all that

that has been hitherto alleg'd, that all the Records we have of the *Ancient* and *Primitive Church* do harmoniously attest, That this *Order*, and these *Offices* instituted by Christ, were inviolably preserved for many Ages; and so positive are they, as to that *prime Office* of *Apostles* and *Bishops*, that they give us particular Catalogues of the Bishops who succeeded the Apostles, in governing the most famous and principal Churches in the World: But to insist on this, would force me beyond the Bounds within which I propos'd to contain my self in my first Entrance upon this Subject.

I shall therefore only give the Testimony of *Calvin* in this Matter, because perhaps his Authority may go further with some, than that of the Ancients: You will find it in the 1st and 4th Sections of the 4th Chapter of his Institutions, where treating of the State of the Church, and the Form of its Government before the Papacy, he says to this purpose: 'It will be useful in this Matter, to know and consider the 'Form of the Ancient Church, which will represent before our 'Eyes, a certain Image of the Divine Institution: Although 'the Bishops of those Times, framed many *Canons*, by which 'they seem to strain Things beyond what is expressed in Holy 'Writ; yet with that Caution did they frame all their Order 'and Government, according to the only Rule of God's Word, 'that you may easily see they had almost nothing in this 'Matter disagreeable to the Word of God. Yea, though 'something might be wanting in their Order, yet, because 'with a sincere Study they endeavour'd to preserve God's 'Institution, and erred not much from it, it will be very 'profitable, briefly to recount what kind of Custom they had. 'As we have shown, there is a threefold Ministry commended 'to

‘to us in Scripture; So whatever Ministers the ancient Church had, it distinguished them into three Orders, *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*.

And § 4. ‘That every Province had among their *Bishops* one who was an *Arch-bishop*, and that in the Council of *Nice*, Patriarchs were appointed, who in Order and Dignity might be superior to *Arch-bishops*; This was for Preservation of Discipline, that if any thing happened in any Church which could not well be determined by a few, it might be referred to a *Provincial Synod*, and if the Affair were of such Importance that it required a greater Discussion, Application was made to the *Patriarch* with the Synods, from whom there was no Appeal but to a *General Council*: The Government thus constituted, some did call an *Hierarchy*, a Name improper (as seems to me) surely not used in Scripture; for the Holy Spirit would provide, that in the Matter of Church-Government, None might Dream of a Principality or Dominion; but if laying aside the Name, we view the Thing it self, we will find that the ancient Bishops had no mind to frame any other Form of Church-Government, than what was prescribed by God in his Word. *Thus far Calvin.*

And I would conclude with these Words, but that I am obliged, for further clearing what hath been hitherto observed, to consider some Passages of Scripture that are commonly objected against what I have advanc’d.

And, *First*, ’tis alleg’d, that the names of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* are promiscuously used in Scripture, and therefore they signify but one and the same Office: It is Answered by some, That this is a great Mistake: And that wherever

Bishops

Bishops are named, we are to understand *Bishops* properly so called, and not *Presbyters*, which they make appear from the Texts brought in favour of the Community of Names; for Instance, *Acts* 20. Verses 18. 27, 28. They say, *Paul* called both *Bishops* and *Presbyters* unto him, and that the Clergy of all the Cities thereabout were there; for *Paul*, during his three Years abode in *Asia*, had Conversed with the *Bishops* and *Presbyters* of other Places, than of *Ephesus*, and his appealing to their Knowledge, proves that they were present, so that what he says, *ver.* 28. was principally directed to the *Bishops*, and secondarily and by way of Reflection to the *Presbyters*. To *Titus* 1. *Ver.* 5, 6, 7. it is answer'd, That what is there to be found, only proves that he should Advance the *Presbyters* under him, and Ordain *Bishops*, and Dispose of them unto Cities, fixing them to certain Cures; so it follows, *for a Bishop must be blameless, &c.* There were *Presbyters* before at *Crete*, and *Titus* was to ordain some of them *Bishops*: So *1 Tim.* 3. is to be understood of *Bishops properly so called*, that were to be ordained to preside over other Cities, as *Timothy* did over *Ephesus*. *Phil.* 1. 1. may be understood of the *Bishops* of *Philippi*, and other neighbouring Cities, who were wont to convene and meet together; or it may mean that *Paul*, and the *Bishops* and *Deacons* that were with him, Salute the Saints at *Philippi*. This Answer however not obvious to every one, yet clearly shews how uncertain that alledged Identity of Names is.

But though we should not look upon this Answer as absolutely conclusive, but grant an Identity of Names; yet it will not follow, that there was an Identity of Offices; for Names are common in Scripture, where Offices are acknowledged

edged to be distinct. Thus *Hebrews* the 3d and the 1st, Christ is called an *Apostle*; and 1 *Pet.* 2. 25. he is called a *Bishop*; *Peter* and *John* call themselves *Presbyters*; 1 *Pet.* 5. 1. *John Ep.* 2. 3. 1 *Cor.* 3. 5. 2 *Cor.* 3. 6. *Col.* 4. 7, 17. and the *Apostles* and *Pastors* are frequently called *Deacons*. 1 *Thef.* 3. 2. Now it cannot from thence be argued, that the *Apostles* and *Presbyters* Office was one and the same with the *Deacon*: The Name of the *Genus* is usually given to the *Species*: the Superior Office including the Inferior, all *Apostles* were *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, though not *vice versa*: Therefore the Identity of Office is not to be argued from the Identity of Names: for according to the *Presbyterians* themselves, the Name *Presbyter* is common to the *Pastor*, and *Ruling Elder*, yet the Offices are vastly distinct.

But, *Secondly*, several Texts are adduced, in which 'tis alledged, That *Parity* among Church-Offices is *peremptorily* commanded; such as *Matth.* 20. 26. *The Lords of the Gentiles*, &c. and the parallel places, *Luke* 9. 47, 48. *Luke* 22. 24. 1 *Pet.* 5. 3. To which 'tis answered in general, That these Scriptures cannot by any just Rules of Interpretation be understood as condemning a Disparity among Gospel Ministers, nor a Superiority of one Order above another; nor a more eminent Power and Authority in some to Govern the Church above others; nor all Jurisdiction of one Gospel Office above others, but only that, which is exercised with imperious Bitterness and Domination; nor are they interpreted to any such purpose by any Judicious Person of either Perswasion: So that it is not fair, honest, or ingenuous Dealing, in any to make use of these Texts, as condemning *Imparity* among Gospel Officers, in order to amuse the *Populace* and

and Simpler Sort, who are oft-times soon taken with the Sound of Words, without considering the true Sense and Importance of them.

. But to answer this Objection more particularly, 1st, That only is forbidden Gospel-ministers, which was practised by *the Lords of the Gentiles*, that is, Secular Dominion and Authority; and it was certain, it was this that the Disciples had in their View, when they contended who should be greatest; for they were mightily possessed with the *Jewish* Opinion, that Christ's Kingdom was to be a Temporal Kingdom; and it is this mistake that Christ removes.

2^{dly}, That Dominion which the Lords of the *Gentiles* exercised, was not one over another, but over their Subjects, so that if it take away all Power of one above another, it will destroy the Power of Ministers over their Flocks: Now, though *Lording over God's Heritage* is expressly discharged; yet the *Pastors Power and Authority over them*, is expressly asserted, where they are called Rulers, and the People commanded to obey them: 1 Pet. 5. 3. Heb. 13. 7. 17. It would also destroy the Power of Synods and Presbyters, where Ministers rule over Ministers.

3^{dly}, There are in St. *Luke*, some Expressions, which plainly imply a Superiority or Eminency of Power, in some over others, when it is said, *He that is greatest among you*: And when Christ proposes his own Example in what he there enjoins them, saying, *I am among you as one that ministrereth*; yet none will doubt he was their Lord and Superior, so that the command of *Ministring* takes not away the Superiority and Power.

4^{thly}, It

4^{thly}, It cannot be thought that our Saviour condemned a Disparity among Gospel Ministers, when it is so evident that he actually instituted Ministers of Different *Offices* and *Degrees*, first *Apostles*, then *Seventy* others of a Second Order; and his Apostles instituted a Third Order of *Deacons*, who 'tis certain was Inferior to *Presbyters*, as these were to the *Apostles*.

5^{thly}, If our Lord had designed to forbid all *Disparity* or *Subordination* among the Ministers of the Gospel; 'tis like, he would rather have stated the Opposition between them and the Ministers of Religion under the *Mosaick* Dispensation, and not the Lords of the *Gentiles*.

But *Thirdly*, whereas that Passage in the 1st of *Timothy*, the 4th Chapter, and 14th Verse, is brought to prove, That Presbyters have a Right or Power to ordain Presbyters, and other Gospel Ministers: It is answered, That place proves no such Thing. For *S. Jerome*, a zealous Asserter of the Rights of Presbyters, acknowledges that Ordination belongs, if not *solely*, yet *chiefly* to Bishops. And both Ancients and Modern, and among these, *Calvin*, understand Presbyter in the aforesaid Place, not of the *Conseffus* or *Collegium Presbyterorum*, the Assembly or Consistory of Presbyters; but of the *Munus* or *Office it self*, or the Ordination of the Office of a Presbyter; so that the Laying on of the Hands of the Presbyter signifies no more than when he was ordained a Presbyter; as if *St. Paul* had said, Take heed that the Grace conferred on thee, when I ordained thee a Presbyter, be not in vain: Thus *Calvin* interprets that place; and what confirms this Gloss, is the *Karisma*, or *Gift* spoken of, seems to have respect to these extraordinary Gifts conferred by the
Laying

Laying on of the Hands of the Apostles in the Ordination of Pastors, to which the Assistance and Concurrence of others was not necessary. Calv. Instit. Lib. 4. Cap. Sect. 16. ad finem.

But granting that *Presbytery* is to be understood of the meeting of Presbyters, yet it will not prove that they had full Power and Authority to Ordain; for here, at the most they did but concur and assist in the Ordination of *Timothy*, as is evident from *2 Tim.* 1. 6. where the Apostle calling him to stir up that Gift, says, that it was conferred on him by *laying on of Hands*. Certain it is, that Apostles did Ordain without the Concurrence of Presbyters; but I read not that ever Presbyters ordain'd without an Apostle or Bishop; and in an Action of that Nature and Importance, it may at least be a just ground of Doubt and Scruple, that there is no Warrant or Precedent to be found for it in Scripture, without which I know not how any can be fully perswaded in his own mind. How far an absolute necessity may alter the case according to the common Axiom, *That many things may be lawful for a Senate when they have no King, that are not when there is one*, I shall not determine.

CONCLUSION.

AND now having finished what I design'd at present, that is, having demonstrated from the Scripture's Account of these Matters, what was at first settled in it, and having thence deduc'd what is at present the true Form of Government in the Church of Christ: I shall only add, by way of *Conclusion*, a short Expostulation, in the Spirit of Meekness and Love; and calmly enquire, What is the Ground of all that Noise and Clamour, Hatred and Prejudice, raised against them who are of the Principles, as to the Point of Church Government, which are here asserted?

'Tis evident we own Christ Jesus the Lord, Head, King, and Lawgiver to his Church, who hath Power and Authority to settle and establish Order and Government therein, and to institute and appoint what Offices, and in what manner he pleases, in his Spiritual Kingdom.

We are fully persuaded, that He, who is of Infinite Wisdom and Goodness, hath disposed all Affairs relating to the Government of his Church, in the most excellent method, in the way and manner that tends most for the Peace and Unity, Order and Security, Edification and Salvation of his Church and People.

We find, plainly and expressly, Three distinct Offices instituted by Christ and his Apostles; one Prime and Chief, the *Twelve Apostles*; and two Subordinate, the *Seventy Disciples*, and Seven *Deacons*: These Three Orders of Gospel-Ministers

ters are unquestionably of *Divine Institution* and Appointment. And we cannot find in all the *New Testament*, that any of them was *Extraordinary* and *Temporary*; no, not the least Insinuation to move us to think, that after a short time any of them was to cease. On the contrary, we have the same Evidence for the perpetual Duration, that we have for their first Institution.

And now let any impartially Judge, who do most truly assert Christ's Kingly Office, and the Prerogatives of his Crown? They who plead for his Institution, and closely adhere thereunto, and to the Offices which he hath appointed in his Church; or they, who make bold with his Institution; to abrogate the *prime Office* he instituted, as how long since antiquated and out of use; and that only upon a false and groundless Supposition, that it was *Extraordinary* and *Temporary*. The falseness of which I have already shewed under my Third Head, and shall now represent briefly of what a dangerous consequence it is to Religion, to alledge that any of the Offices instituted by Christ, were *Extraordinary* and *Temporary*, appointed only to serve the *Infancy* and *First Constitution* of the Church, but not to continue in it when once constituted. This makes the Rule and Standard of our Religion uncertain and unfixed, and opens a Gap to all Errors: At this rate, and upon the same pretence, *Quakers*, and others, cast off the Gospel Institutions, of *Holy Orders*, *Baptism* and *the Lords Supper*, &c. for, say they, these were only *Temporary Ordinances*; but now all the *Lord's People are Holy*, they are all Prophets, the Manifestation of the Spirit, which is given unto all, hath outdated all these *Rudimentary Elements*.

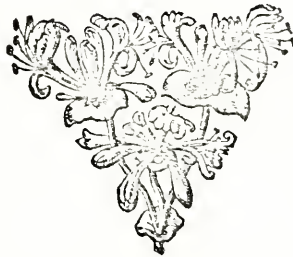
If any, thus principled, could but gain such an ascendant over the *Populace*, as to inspire them with this Notion, and thereby influence them as much against the Order of *Presbyters*, as they have been against that of *Bishops*; What should then become of Order in the Church, or any Gospel Ordinance? God forbid! That any such wild Caprice should ever seize on Christian People; but I make the Supposition to represent thereby the dangerous Consequence of that Principle, *That some of Christ's Institutions were but Temporary*: For it may be improved as much, and on as good ground, against the Office of a *Presbyter*, yea, against the positive Instructions of the Gospel, as against the Office of a *Bishop*; and there may come such an unhappy Juncture, when one as well as another, and all as well as one, may thus come to be thought unnecessary. For alas, if the Truth may be told, 'tis greatly to be feared, that not only the Office of *Bishops*, but of all *Pastors*, yea, all the *Sacred Institutions of Christ*, are become intolerable unto too many *Carnal Libertines*, who want but a favourable Opportunity to vent their minds, and say, *Come, let us break their Bonds asunder, and cast away their Cords* from us.

How will they be able to answer God, or their own Consciences for it? Who have solemnly combined together to ruin and overthrow that Order, settled by Christ in his Church, and have left no Stone unturned, in their restless Endeavours, to bring the Sacred Offices of *Bishops*, and *Pastors* Ministring under their Inspection and Government, into perpetual Contempts; and having industriously set themselves to oppose and frustrate all their Gospel Administrations; and not only to alienate the Minds of poor simple
 People

People from their *Lawful Governours* and *Pastors*, but with Noise and Clamour, and bitter Invectives, to inspire them with the highest Rage and Fury to commit the most horrid Outrages on their Sacred Persons, as good Service done to God; and all upon no other Account, but their firm adherence unto the Institution of Jesus Christ.

Father forgive them, they know not what they do: Lord lay not this Sin to their charge, but mercifully open their eyes, that they may see the evil of their ways, and may be converted to the Way of Truth and Godliness, Peace and Charity, Unity and Order, and Eternally Saved: Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Now unto GOD the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be Glory Everlasting. Amen.

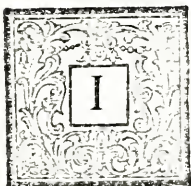
F I N I S.





A
DISCOURSE

Shewing *Who* is a true Pastor of the
CHURCH of CHRIST.¹¹⁴



AM fully satisfy'd, that the good and well-meaning People, for whose Sake this short and plain Discourse is now published, are thoroughly convinced of the great Necessity and Advantage of making Use of a *Spiritual Guide*; and that they are always ready to consult Him, and to commit the Care of their Souls to him.

BUT

¹¹⁴ In the order of time, this "Discourse" was preceded by the publication of a *Discourse concerning Episcopacy*, but as the last mentioned was only a compilation, it is not included in this collection. It is accessible in all the older libraries. For the publication of the *Discourse concerning Episcopacy*, and Leslie's *Short and Easy Method with the Deists*, Mr. Checkley was prof-

ecuted in the courts of Massachusetts Bay for a libel. All the passages cited as libellous in the presentment may be found at pages 61 to 63 in this volume.

For some account of this "*Discourse shewing who is a true Pastor of the Church of Christ*," vide *antea*, pp. 59-60. We may here add that 500 copies were sent into Rhode Island.

BUT then they may justly ask, — WHO, WHERE is He? — *Since there are so many false Teachers gone out into the World, how shall I know WHICH is a true One?* Among so many different Pretenders to the Ministry, how shall I find out, WHICH are indeed *the Ministers of Christ?* *Are all Apostles? Are all Prophets? Are all Teachers?* 1 Cor. xii. 29. Saint Paul plainly determines, that they are not so; as also, Christ himself saith to the Angel of the Church of *Ephesus, Thou hast tried them, which say they are Apostles, and are not, and hast found them Lyars.* Rev. ii. 2 And if in the Days of Saint John the Apostle, there were false Deceivers, who said that they were Ministers of Christ, and were not, much more are there such in our Days. How then shall I be able to know and find them out?

THIS indeed is a Question of grand Importance; for Christ, who hath appointed an Order of Men to teach his People, *hath forbidden them to heap to themselves Teachers; warned us against those who come in Sheep's Cloathing, and yet are ravenous Wolves;* and assures us, *that if the blind lead the blind, they shall both fall into the Ditch.* It is to *Them only* who derive their Authority from Him, through the Hands of the Apostles, and their Successors; and are his commissioned Ministers, that He hath promised *his Presence and Assistance to the End of the World.* So that if he confirms the Act, and blesses the Ministry of any others, it is more than He hath promised in his holy Word.

BUT tho' this Question is of such weighty Concern, yet the solving of it has not such Difficulty in it, but that every One might of himself judge what is Right, if without Partiality, and without Hypocrisie, he would consider the following

lowing Particulars, and the Texts of Scripture annexed to them.

1. THAT none ought to act as Ministers of Christ in his Church, but they who have received a Commission from him. — *And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, all Power is given unto Me in Heaven and in Earth. Go ye therefore and teach all Nations, — and lo, I am with you alway even unto the End of the World.* Matth. 28. 18, 19, 20. *And no Man taketh this Honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.* Heb. v. 4. *And how shall they hear without a Preacher? And how shall they preach except they be sent?* Rom. x. 14, 15.

2. THAT none can be said to receive a divine Commission from Him, but Those who are either *mediately* or *immediately* called and appointed by him. *Rom. x. 15. Heb. v. 4. 5. Acts xiv. 23. Rev. ii. 2.*

3. THAT they who pretend to an immediate Call, ought, as the Apostles did, to prove the Truth of their Mission, *by working of Miracles*; 'till which Time no Regard is due to their Pretences. *Mark xvi. 20. Matth. vii. 15 and ix. 6. 30, 31. 1 John iv. 1.*

4. THAT therefore the only standing regular Way of *having this Honour*, is the deriving of it *mediately* thro' the Hands of others, from Christ himself.

5. THAT Christ himself, whilst on Earth, had two Orders of Men under Him, the twelve Apostles, and the Seventy; gave the Power of sending, or ordaining others, to the Apostles; and to them only, and those that succeed them, *did He give the Promise of his Presence and Assistance unto the End of the World.* *Luke ix. 1. vi. 13. x. 1 and xxii.*

29, 30. *John* xx. 21. *Matth.* xxviii. 16. 20. *Acts* xxii. 17. xv. 13 and xxi. 18. *Gal.* ii. 9.

6. THAT after Christ's Ascension into Heaven, there were still *three distinct Orders* set apart to the Ministry, *viz. Deacons, Presbyters, or Elders*; and a still higher Order, which were superiour to, and had Authority over both these, such were, besides the Apostles, *Timothy, Titus, St James*, Sur-named the Just, and the *Angels of the Seven Churches.* 1 *Tim.* v. 19. 22. *Tit.* i. 5. *Rev.* ii. 2.

7. THAT therefore, in the Beginning of the Christian Church, there was not a *Parity*, but *Inequality*, or *Prelacy* in the Ministers of it.

8. THAT farther from the holy Scriptures it is evident, That the Power of Ordination was lodged in those of the highest Order, *Timothy* and *Titus*, and in them *alone* without any others being mentioned with them. 1 *Tim.* v. 22. *Tit.* i. 5.

9. THAT we have no Warrant from Scripture to conclude, that this Power was given by the Apostles to those of the second Order, now called Presbyters; the chief Text upon which this Warrant is supposed to be grounded, being that of the Apostle to *Timothy*, *Neglect not the Gift that is in thee, which was given Thee by Prophecy, with the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery.*

AND as Mr. *Roberts* judiciously observes, to make this Place any Thing to the Purpose, these three Things at least must be proved. 1. That by Presbytery is here meant a Company of Persons. 2. That these Persons were all meer Presbyters. 3. That none but such gave *Timothy* his Ordination. The *first* of which is uncertain, the *second* improbable; and the *third* absolutely false.

AND here I cannot but take Notice of the Ignorance or Difingenuity (not to call it a *pious Fraud*) of some Gentlemen in *New England*, in their Discourse HAD (as they elegantly term it) of Presbyterial Ordination.¹¹⁵ The Design of the Gentlemen is to prove from Scripture, that meer Presbyters had the Power of Ordination. And thus they go to work. Page 11. ‘*We can’t but apprehend their [the ‘Presbyters] Power of Ordination from Scripture Precedents.*’ ‘I shall name two famous Instances. *Paul and Barnabas* ‘were set apart by the Hands of ordinary Elders. *Acts* xiii. ‘1, 2, 3. This is false. They were not *ordinary Elders*, for they were Prophets and Teachers *immediately commanded by God* to send these Men on that particular Errand, as is plain by the Text. Besides, *St. Paul* says of Himself, that He was *an Apostle*, (*not of Men, neither by Man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father*, — *Gal.* i. 1. And moreover, it appears by the Text to be an extraordinary Act, for it is said to be done by the Holy Ghost. *Acts* xiii. 1, 2, 3.

BUT

¹¹⁵ The “*Discourse had of Presbyterial Ordination*” was by the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton. He was minister of the Old South Church, Boston, from 1700 till his death in 1717. He was born in Boston in 1671. Graduated at Harvard College in 1691. The Sermon referred to above was delivered on the occasion of the ordination of the Rev. Joseph Sewall, D.D., September 16, 1713. It was published in connection with the proceedings at the ordination of the Rev. Thomas Prince as minister of the Old South Church, October 1, 1718.

The following is the title of this discourse: —

“A DISCOURSE HAD By the late Reverend and learned MR EBENEZER PEMBERTON PREVIOUS to the ORDINATION of the Reverend Mr *Joseph Sewall*, at BOSTON, *September 16, 1713.* Affirming and proving the *Validity of Presbyterial ORDINATION.* BOSTON: Printed by J. FRANKLIN for S. GERRISH and Sold at his Shop near the Old Meeting-House. 1718.”

The Rev. Mr. Pemberton was reputed an able, eloquent, and learned preacher. He published several discourses, and a volume of his sermons was issued in 1727.

BUT to let the Gentlemen go on. 'So was *Timothy* ordained by the Imposition of the Hands of the Presbytery: '1 *Tim.* iv. 14. And what was then valid is now. — Upon 'the whole, if Scripture be the Rule then we can't but safely 'conclude for the Right of Presbyters, or ordinary Gospel 'Ministers, to ordain others.

THUS they. Now, before I answer it, I desire the Reader to take Notice, that they call it a *famous Instance*, which implys thus much, that they thought it a very good One for the Proof of the Validity of *Presbyterial Ordination*; and indeed, it is the chief Text upon which the Dissenters build their unhappy Mistakes. But these Gentlemen might have been better inform'd by their great Master *John Calvin*, whose Opinion I suppose will have some Weight with them. These are his Words upon the Place. '*Paul* himself elsewhere declares that he (without any others) laid Hands on '*Timothy*: I admonish Thee (says He) that thou stir up the 'Gift that is in thee, by the laying on of MY HANDS; for 'what is said in the other Epistle of the laying on the Hands 'of the *Presbytery*, I don't take it as if *Paul* spake of the 'College of *Presbyters*, but by that Name I understand the 'Ordination it self: As if he should say, see that the Grace 'which thou didst receive by the laying on of MY HANDS 'when I made thee a *Presbyter* be not in vain: *Calv. Institut.* 'L. 4. C. 3. Thus Mr. *Calvin*.

THE Summ of the Dispute betwixt these Gentlemen and us on this Head is this. We affirm (and are sure) that *Timothy* was not ordain'd by *ordinary Gospel Ministers* inferiour to the Apostles. They affirm, that *ordinary Gospel Ministers* inferiour to the Apostles ordain'd *Timothy*. And they produce

duce this famous Instance (as they call it) to prove their Assertion. Now, nothing is more certain than this; that it is the current Opinion of great Numbers of good Divines, both antient and modern, that by *Presbytery* is not meant a Number of Men, but the Office; and in particular Mr. *Calvin*, you see, has given it up.

BUT nothing is (or can be) more plain than the Scripture it self, therefore to the Law and to the Testimony. Let it be decided by Scripture. There Saint *Paul* expressly says to *Timothy*. 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. *Wherefore I put thee in Remembrance, that thou stir up the Gift of God, which is in thee by the putting on of MY HANDS.* Thus the Scripture. Now if Saint *Paul* was an *ordinary Gospel Minister* inferiour to the Apostles, then those Gentlemen, for once, are in the right.

BUT this Text, I fear, was industriously omitted, the Beams of Light darting from it, and so directly pointing at their unhappy Error, they could not bear the Sight of it, but hid it under a Bushel. But let them take care, for it is a standing Maxim, That He is as much a false Witness who keeps back any Part of the Evidence, as He who produces that for Evidence which is not Truth.

10. THEREFORE, that since it do's not appear, that the Commission to ordain, which the Apostles receiv'd from our blessed Saviour, was ever granted by them to those who are now called *Presbyters*, they cannot justly lay claim to the Power of Ordination: Every Commission necessarily supposing a Conveyance, and being exclusive of all *Persons*, except those to whom it is given.

11. AND lastly, that they who had the Power of Ordination

nation lodged in their Hands by the Apostles, had many *Presbyters*, and many Congregations under their Jurisdiction, as may be seen by these Texts of Scripture. *Tit.* i. 5. 1. *Tim.* i. 3. and v. 19. 23. *Acts* xix. 10. and xx. 17, compared with *Rev.* ii. 1. 2.

So far we may conclude from the holy Scriptures themselves; and from primitive Antiquity it is farther evident.

1. THAT immediately after the Death of St. *John*, these three Orders, *Bishops*, *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, were established in every Church; and the Power of *Bishops* over *Presbyters* universally owned and acknowledged to be of divine Right. See the Epistle of St. *Ignatius* at the End of this Tract.¹¹⁶

2. THAT down from the Beginning of Christianity, unto the Time of the Reformation, the Power of conferring Orders was supposed to be lodged, not in the Hands of *Presbyters*, but of *Bishops*; nor can so much as one Instance be produced of *Presbyters* laying claim to this Power, and of its being allowed by the Church of Christ: For the Truth of this Proposition, we have the same Evidence that we have for the Canonicalness of several Books of the new Testament, *the concurrent Testimony of the Church of Christ*.

3. THAT at the Time of the Reformation, this Power of our Church still continued in, and was appropriated to those of the highest Order.

4. THAT those *Presbyters* who first broke off from the Communion

¹¹⁶ In the original edition *The Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Trallians* was appended to the Discourse, but it is omitted in this work, inasmuch as it is

accessible in the *Genuine Epistles of the Apostolic Fathers*, translated by Dr. Wake, late learned and distinguished Archbishop of Canterbury.

Communion with their Bishops, and first pretended to this *Authority of ordaining others*, did not receive it; only a Power to preach the Word, and administer the Sacraments, according to the Rules of the Gospel, and the Canons of the Church, and this in Subordination to their *Bishops*; much less did they receive Authority to ordain others, in Opposition to THEM to whom they owed, and had sworn Obedience.

5. THAT therefore, *since none can give that which he did not receive*, they amongst us, who have received their Orders only from the Hands of *Presbyters*, have *no valid Ordination, no Authority*, to act in Christ's Name, as his *commissioned Ministers*, and to be spiritual Guides of the People.

I shall only add farther under this Head, that tho' it was only a doubtful Case, *whether Presbyterian Ordination was valid, or not*; yet, since it is confessed on all Hands, that they of the National Church who are Episcopally ordained, are lawful Ministers of Christ, it is the Christian's Duty and Interest to obey and submit to them, and to acknowledge them ONLY as their *Guides that watch for their Souls*; since in all doubtful Cases the safest Side is to be chosen.

AND now, having said thus much, I shall once more take Notice of those *New England* Gentlemen before mentioned. But, before I animadvert upon them, I must confess I am at a loss, and know not what Name to give to something I find in their celebrated Performance; whether I shall call it *Ignorance* or *Sleight of Hand*: For I am perfectly amazed! that Gentlemen of such Figure (as I have been informed they were) among the Dissenters, that such Rabbies of the Party

Party shou'd betray such finish'd, such consummate Ignorance in Church History; and if it must not be imputed to their Ignorance, I assure you, that my Astonishment is encreas'd, to think that Men, who call themselves the Guides of Souls, shou'd be so daringly wicked, as to assert THAT for Truth, which they knew to be false, and in a Cause too where the Souls of Men were concerned.

THEY affirm, Page 7. 'That we have nothing in primitive or later Antiquity but what may be reconciled hereto, (that is to the Practice of *Presbyters* ordaining of *Presbyters*) and much to confirm this Practice.' And to shew you that this was not dropt from them thro' Inadvertency but by Design, They are at it again Page 11. where they assert very roundly that, 'We find much in Antiquity, primitive and later, that favours this Power of *Presbyters*, and nothing but what may be reconciled to it.

THESE Gentlemen were resolv'd to do Business, they scorn'd to mince the Matter.

I confess seriously, that I never met with any Assertion more surprizing than this, nor more false. Surely these Gentlemen cou'd not think to impose upon all Mankind with their *Ignorance*, or their *Legerdemain*. But 'tis plain, their sinking, dying Cause requires such mean, such little *Tricks* to support it. They perceiv'd, that the People were resolv'd for the future to see with their own Eyes, and were universally inclin'd to enquire into Antiquity, being desirous to understand the State of the Primitive Church, and resolving to pay Obedience to that Church which was most *Apostolick*.

THEREFORE they thought it necessary to assert, that we have much in Antiquity, primitive and later, that favours this

this Power of *Presbyters* ordaining of *Presbyters*, and nothing but what may be reconcil'd to it.

THAN which nothing is more False. Here we will joyn Issue. And if these Gentlemen will produce any one Instance of a *Presbyter's* ordaining a *Presbyter*, for the Space of 1500 Years after *Christ*, which was not condemn'd by the Catholick Church, I assure them, for my part, I'll give up the Cause. There are but two¹¹⁷ Instances of such Ordinations for 1500 Years after *Christ*, that of *Ischyras* and *Colluthus*; one of which was not done upon a Principle that *Presbyters* have a Power to ordain; nor was it done in Opposition to the Bishop, who was present, but being indispos'd, order'd a Priest to read the Words of Consecration, the Bishop laying on his Hands. But the primitive Church wou'd not suffer even this to pass, but severely condemn'd this as well as the other. And it was a principal part of the Herefy of *Acrius*, his affirming, that there was no Difference between a *Bishop* and a *Presbyter* by divine Right, and for which (among other Things) he was condemn'd for a Here-tick by the Catholick Church of *Christ*.

Now, if these Things are true, (and I call upon these Gentlemen to disprove them if they are not) you may see what

¹¹⁷ In the "Errata," at the end of the book, we are directed to read as follows: —

There are but few instances of such-like Ordinations for 1500 Years after Christ: That of *Ischyras* ordained by *Colluthus*, and a *Presbyter* with two Deacons ordain'd (in part) by a *Presbyter*, on Account of the Indisposition of the Bishop of *Agabra*, are the two chief Instances in all Antiquity.

Now, the first of these was not done upon a Principle, that *Presbyters* have a Power to ordain, for *Colluthus* had falsely assum'd to himself the Name of a Bishop; nor was the latter done in Opposition to the Bishop, who was present, but having sore Eyes order'd a *Presbyter* to read the Words of Consecration, the Bishop laying on his Hands.

what little Ground they had to assert, that they had much in Antiquity to confirm their Practice. Oh, to what despicable Arts are Men driven in defending a bad Cause!

BUT the other Part of this monstrous Assertion is as much beyond this, as this is beyond all Modesty, *viz.* That they have nothing in Antiquity but what may be reconcil'd to it, that is, to their Practice. What!—Nothing but what may be reconcil'd to it!—Why, Sirs! Were all the Bishops of the Catholick Church for 1700 Years after *Christ*, no more than common *Presbyters*? What! Can all the Ordinations, the Thousands, the Millions that have been perform'd in the Catholick Church, in all that space of Time, by Bishops, and upon *this Principle*, that Bishops *alone* had the Power of Ordination; can all these too be reconciled to your Practice!

CERTAINLY these Gentlemen were out of their Senses when these unaccountable Absurdities were suffer'd to come abroad.

IN the second Page of their Rhapsody, they assert, (nay, they say, it seems evident to a Demonstration) the Necessity of an uninterrupted Succession from the Apostles. They were obliged to do this from the Nature of the Thing; it being so plain, that the meanest Capacity understands it. The short Method has demonstrated it. But notwithstanding ten thousand Demonstrations, they found that it was their Interest to deny it; and accordingly knowing that they were not in the Succession, at pag. 14, they tack about, and wiping their Mouths very demurely tell us, that they don't believe the Necessity of an uninterrupted Succession from the *Apostles*.

THESE Men make a great Noise, and amuse the People with the *great Names of* — our *first Reformers*— the *foreign Churches*, &c. — thereby intimating as if the foreign Churches approv'd of their Practice.

WHEREAS nothing is more plain, than that our Dissenters have departed from *Calvin* as well as from *Luther*, in their Abhorrence of Episcopacy, from all the Christian World, in all Ages; and particularly from all our late Reformers, both of one Sort and another.

Calvin wou'd have anathematized all of them, had he lived in our Days. He says there were none to be found in his Time, who opposed the Episcopal Hierarchy, but only the Papal. But says He, 'if they wou'd give us such an Hierarchy, in which the Bishops shou'd so excell, as that they 'did not refuse to be subject to Christ, and to depend upon 'Him as their *only* Head, and refer all to Him; then I will 'confess that they are worthy of all Anathemas, if any such 'shall be found, who will not reverence it, and submit themselves to it, with the utmost Obedience. Calvin de Necessitate Eccles. Reformand.

AND *Beza* supposes as positively as *Calvin* had done, that there were none who opposed the Episcopal Hierarchy, but only the Papal, or that opposed the Order of Bishops; and condemns them as Madmen, if any such cou'd be found. For thus says he,

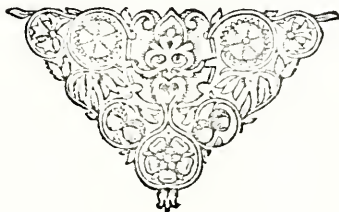
'IF there be any (which you shall hardly persuade me to 'believe) who reject the whole Order of Episcopacy; God 'forbid that any Man in his Wits, shou'd assent to the Mad- 'ness of such Men. *Beza. ad Tractat. de Minist. Ev. Grad. 'ab Hadrian. Sarav. Belga. Edit. C. 1.*

AND particularly as to the Church of *England*, and her Hierarchy of Arch-Bishops and Bishops, He says, that he never meant to oppugn any thing of that; but calls it a *singular Blessing of God*, and wishes that she may ever enjoy it. *Ibid.* C. 18.

PRAY take Notice, *Calvin* says, — *if there shall be any such*, — and *Beza* says, — *if there be any who won't submit to Episcopacy as it is in England*, which supposes that *THEY* knew none such amongst their Reformers: And that if any such should arise, *THEY* thought there were no *Anathemas* which they did not deserve.

So that our modern Dissenters are disarm'd of the precedent of *Calvin*, *Beza*, and all the Reformers abroad, by whose Sentence they are *anathematized*, and counted as Madmen.

☞ Those who have a Mind to see the Propositions in this small Tract prov'd beyond the Possibility of a Reply, are desir'd to read a Discourse concerning Episcopacy, which they may have at the *Crown* and *Gate* opposite to the West End of the Town-House in *Boston*. Where likewise may be had *Bavclay's* persuasive, printed in *London*, by *Jonah Bowyer*, with other Books of the like Nature.





THE OLD PARSONAGE,

KING'S CHURCH, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND.

THE Rev. Arthur Browne, a native of Drogheda, Ireland, was ordained by the Bishop of London in 1729, and appointed the same year by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts to the Parish of King's Church in Providence, Rhode Island. He entered upon the duties of his Rectorship October 1, 1730.

On the 6th of January, 1734-5, Mr. Browne purchased of Joseph Whipple, Robert Currie and Nathaniel Brown, *in fee simple*, for the consideration of £250, lawful money, eighteen acres of land "with all the housing thereon" situated on Providence Neck. *Vide Records of Deeds in Providence.*

Before the end of the year 1735, the Rev. Mr. Browne had accepted an invitation, with the consent of the Bishop of London, to become the Rector of Queen's Chapel in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. His ministry in Providence closed in February, 1736-7.

On the 30th day of August, 1737, about six months after his ministry closed in Providence, the Rev. Arthur Browne, and "Mary his wife," conveyed by deed the before mentioned eighteen acres on Providence Neck, for the sum of £250, to William Coddington, John Brown, and Charles Bardine, nevertheless, *in trust*, for "the repairing and upholding the Church of England in Providence." *Vide Records of Deeds.*

After the Rev. Mr. Browne's removal to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, the mission of King's Church, Providence, established by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, remained vacant until the appointment, by the Society, of the Rev. Mr. Checkley, in 1738.

From the manuscript Journal of the Society for April 21, 1738, it appears that preliminary steps were then taken to revive the mission at Providence, "the People there having built a house and settled a glebe for an Episcopal Minister."

It seems clear, therefore, that the Old Parsonage was built, or at least finished, for it may have been begun much earlier, after the property was conveyed by the Rev. Mr. Browne and his wife to a Committee of King's Church; that is to say, in the autumn or winter of 1737, notice having reached the Society in London before the 21st of April, 1738, that a house had been built by the people and a glebe settled for an Episcopal minister.

The Rev. Mr. Checkley entered upon his duties in Providence, and took possession of the Parsonage in May, 1739, which he occupied till his death.

Time has obliterated most buildings erected here in New England in the first half of the last century, but the Old
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Parsonage is still standing, and in a state of good preservation for a wooden structure, which has witnessed the vicissitudes of more than a hundred and fifty years.

The interior has been but little changed. A chimney of massive size occupies a large space in the centre of the house. It rests upon solid mason work, springing from the bottom of the cellar in two walls or buttresses of stone, about six feet in height. On these buttresses are beams of compact wood, probably oak, now worm-eaten and crumbling, upon which rests the superstructure of the aforesaid enormous chimney. Open wood fires prevailed at the period of its erection everywhere on this continent. In the Old Parsonage there are five fire-places of generous size, whose flues open into the great centre chimney, besides that of the capacious oven, a necessary and universal appendage in those days to a well equipped kitchen. The principal apartments are finished in panelled wainscoting, and the quaint hinges of the doors, the latches and locks ingeniously combined in one, with brass knobs, are characteristic memorials of the early part of the last century.

The exterior of the Parsonage has suffered some "modern improvements." The chimney top has been diminished in size; the window-fashes of the lower story have given place to new ones, with large panes of glass, unsuited to the size and character of the building. In the sketch, which accompanies this volume as a frontispiece, the artist has very properly discarded these "improvements," and the house as here seen presents the same appearance that it did when it was first erected more than a century and a half ago.

This now antique house is pleasantly situated on Olney Street,

Street, leading from North Main Street to Swan Point Cemetery, and is on a slight declivity, near the base of Observatory Hill. It faces to the east, and commands a full view of East Providence, which presents the appearance of a small city nestling at the feet of a larger one. It is a mile and a half, or perhaps less than that, from St. John's Church. The City of Providence has now expanded into its immediate neighborhood, but when it was occupied by the Rev. Mr. Checkley it must have seemed to be quite in the country.

Five or six years after Mr. Checkley came to reside in the Parsonage, he purchased other lands in the neighborhood, which with the glebe constituted an estate of nearly fifty acres, the products of which furnished a convenient and substantial addition to his annual income. In this modest abode Mr. Checkley passed nearly fifteen happy and useful years of his life. Here he dispensed his simple hospitality to the rich and to the poor alike. Here the red man of the forest and the African slave came for Christian sympathy, for consolation, encouragement and spiritual advice. From this home his noble son, full of youthful hope and promise, went forth to cross the ocean and obtain the sacred commission to minister in the Church of God, but alas! never to return. Here his only daughter was pledged in a happy marriage, and here his grandchildren came with smiles and words of love to cheer his last months of weakness and decay. And here, at length, on the 15th of February, 1754, the first occupant of the Old Parsonage passed to a serene and peaceful rest, ripe in experience, in learning, and in the fruits of a long cherished and devout faith.

After

After the death of Mr. Checkley, the Rev. John Graves, who had been Vicar of Clapham in the Diocese of Chester, England, was appointed to King's Church, and he occupied the Parsonage from 1754 to 1783. He was a firm loyalist, and when prayers for the king were forbidden during the Revolution by the local authorities, he declined to officiate in the church, although he continued to occupy the Parsonage until the end of the war.

The Rev. Thomas Fitch Oliver resided in the Parsonage from 1783, to September, 1786. Two of the years of his occupancy were before he was in holy orders, while he officiated as a lay-reader. He was ordained by Bishop Seabury, August 7, 1785, and was the fifth clergyman who received Episcopal ordination in the Anglican succession in America. He was subsequently Rector of St. Michael's church in Marblehead, Massachusetts.

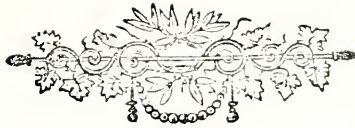
The Rev. Moses Badger, a graduate of Harvard College in 1761, who was ordained in England, and had been in the service of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, as an itinerant in New Hampshire from 1767 to 1774, became Rector of King's Church in 1786, and died in the old Parsonage in 1792.

The last incumbent of King's Church, now St. John's, who occupied the Parsonage, was the Rev. Abraham Lynsen Clarke, whose residence continued but two years, from 1792 to 1794, when the property on account of its inconvenient distance, was sold, and another parsonage was purchased nearer to St. John's Church.

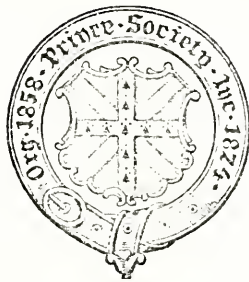
For more than half a century the old Parsonage contributed valuable aid to the parish, when its numbers were few and

and its means were small. Five of its Rectors found within its sheltering walls an attractive and comfortable home. Within it two of them completed their earthly career. It is now more than a hundred years since it passed out of the possession of the parish. On September 1, 1794, it was conveyed by deed to Dexter Brown, by the Rector, Wardens and Vestry of St. John's Church. It subsequently came into the ownership of Thomas Sessions. It is now the property of Brown University.





THE PRINCE SOCIETY.



1897.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

IN THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FOUR.

AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

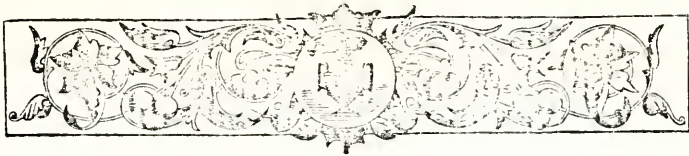
SECTION 1. John Ward Dean, J. Wingate Thornton, Edmund F. Slafter, and Charles W. Tuttle, their associates and successors, are made a corporation by the name of the PRINCE SOCIETY, for the purpose of preserving and extending the knowledge of American History, by editing and printing such manuscripts, rare tracts, and volumes as are mostly confined in their use to historical students and public libraries.

SECTION 2. Said corporation may hold real and personal estate to an amount not exceeding thirty thousand dollars.

SECTION 3. This act shall take effect upon its passage.

Approved March 18, 1874.

NOTE.—The Prince Society was organized on the 25th of May, 1858. What was undertaken as an experiment has proved successful. This ACT OF INCORPORATION has been obtained to enable the Society better to fulfil its object, in its expanding growth.



THE PRINCE SOCIETY:

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. — This Society shall be called THE PRINCE SOCIETY; and it shall have for its object the publication of rare works, in print or manuscript, relating to America.

ARTICLE II. — The officers of the Society shall be a President, four Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, and a Treasurer; who together shall form the Council of the Society.

ARTICLE III. — Members may be added to the Society on the recommendation of any member and a confirmatory vote of a majority of the Council.

Libraries and other Institutions may hold membership, and be represented by an authorized agent.

All members shall be entitled to and shall accept the volumes printed by the Society, as they are issued from time to time, at the prices fixed by the Council; and membership shall be forfeited by a refusal or neglect so to accept the said volumes.

Any person may terminate his membership by resignation addressed in writing to the President; provided, however, that he shall have previously paid for all volumes issued by the Society after the date of his election as a member.

ARTICLE IV. — The management of the Society's affairs shall be vested in the Council, which shall keep a faithful record of its proceedings,

proceedings, and report the same to the Society annually, at its General Meeting in May.

ARTICLE V.—On the anniversary of the birth of the Rev. Thomas Prince, namely, on the twenty-fifth day of May, in every year (but if this day shall fall on Sunday or a legal holiday, on the following day), a General Meeting shall be held at Boston, in Massachusetts, for the purpose of electing officers, hearing the report of the Council, auditing the Treasurer's account, and transacting other business.

ARTICLE VI.—The officers shall be chosen by the Society annually, at the General Meeting; but vacancies occurring between the General Meetings may be filled by the Council.

ARTICLE VII.—By-Laws for the more particular government of the Society may be made or amended at any General Meeting.

ARTICLE VIII.—Amendments to the Constitution may be made at the General Meeting in May, by a three-fourths vote, provided that a copy of the same be transmitted to every member of the Society, at least two weeks previous to the time of voting thereon.

COUNCIL.

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

1. THE Society shall be administered on the mutual principle, and solely in the interest of American history.
2. A volume shall be issued as often as practicable, but not more frequently than once a year.
3. An editor of each work to be issued shall be appointed, who shall be a member of the Society, whose duty it shall be to prepare,

pare, arrange, and conduct the same through the press; and, as he will necessarily be placed under obligations to scholars and others for assistance, and particularly for the loan of rare books, he shall be entitled to receive ten copies, to enable him to acknowledge and return any courtesies which he may have received.

4. All editorial work and official service shall be performed gratuitously.

5. All contracts connected with the publication of any work shall be laid before the Council in distinct specifications in writing, and be adopted by a vote of the Council, and entered in a book kept for that purpose; and, when the publication of a volume is completed, its whole expense shall be entered, with the items of its cost in full, in the same book. No member of the Council shall be a contractor for doing any part of the mechanical work of the publications.

6. The price of each volume shall be a hundredth part of the cost of the edition, or as near to that as conveniently may be; and there shall be no other assessments levied upon the members of the Society.

7. A sum, not exceeding one thousand dollars, may be set apart by the Council from the net receipts for publications, as a working capital; and when the said net receipts shall exceed that sum, the excess shall be divided, from time to time, among the members of the Society, by remitting either a part or the whole cost of a volume, as may be deemed expedient.

8. All moneys belonging to the Society shall be deposited in the New England Trust Company in Boston, unless some other banking institution shall be designated by a vote of the Council; and said moneys shall be entered in the name of the Society, subject to the order of the Treasurer.

9. It shall be the duty of the President to call the Council together, whenever it may be necessary for the transaction of business, and to preside at its meetings.

10. It shall be the duty of the Vice-Presidents to authorize all bills before their payment, to make an inventory of the property of the Society during the month preceding the annual meeting and to report the same to the Council, and to audit the accounts of the Treasurer.

11. It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to issue all general notices to the members, and to conduct the general correspondence of the Society.

12. It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to keep a complete record of the proceedings both of the Society and of the Council, in a book provided for that purpose.

13. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to forward to the members bills for the volumes, as they are issued; to superintend the sending of the books; to pay all bills authorized and indorsed by at least two Vice-Presidents of the Society; and to keep an accurate account of all moneys received and disbursed.

14. No books shall be forwarded by the Treasurer to any member until the amount of the price fixed for the same shall have been received; and any member neglecting to forward the said amount for one month after his notification, shall forfeit his membership.





OFFICERS
OF
THE PRINCE SOCIETY
FROM ITS ORGANIZATION.

Presidents.

*SAMUEL GARDNER DRAKE, A.M., Boston	1858 to 1870.
JOHN WARD DEAN, A.M., Boston	1870 to 1880.
The Rev. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, D.D., Boston	1880.

Vice-Presidents.

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*FREDERIC KIDDER, Boston	1858 to 1863.
*JEREMIAH COLBURN, A.M., Boston	1858 to 1863.
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*JOHN WINGATE THORNTON, A.M., Boston	1863 to 1878.
The Rev. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, D.D., Boston	1866 to 1880.
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OFFICERS
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THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

1897.

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THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

1897.

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American Antiquarian Society	Worcester, Mafs.
Amherst College Library	Amherst, Mafs.
Astor Library	New York, N. Y.
Bangor Public Library	Bangor, Me.
Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico	Mexico, Mexico.
Bibliothèque Nationale	Paris, France.
Bibliothèque de la Légiflature de la Province de Québec	Quebec, Canada.
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Concord Public Library	Concord, Mafs.
Dartmouth College Library	Hanover, N. H.
Detroit Public Library	Detroit, Mich.
Fitchburg Public Library	Fitchburg, Mafs.
Free Public Library	Worcester, Mafs.

Gale Free Library	Holden, Mafs.
Harlem Library	Harlem, N. Y.
Harvard College Library	Cambridge, Mafs.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania	Philadelphia, Pa.
Lancaster Public Library	Lancaster, Mafs.
Library of Brown Univerfity	Providence, R. I.
Library Company of Philadelphia	Philadelphia, Pa.
Library of Cornell Univerfity	Ithaca, N. Y.
Library of the Northwestern Univerfity	Evanfton, Ill.
Library of Parliament	Ottawa, Canada.
Library of the State Department	Washington, D. C.
Library of the Univerfity of Vermont	Burlington, Vt.
Long Ifland Historical Society	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Lowell City Library	Lowell, Mafs.
Maine Historical Society	Portland, Me.
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Maflachusetts Historical Society	Boston, Mafs.
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Minnesota Historical Society	St. Paul, Minn.
Nebraska State Historical Society	Lincoln, Neb.
Newberry Library	Chicago, Ill.
Newburyport Public Library, Peabody Fund	Newburyport, Mafs.
New England Historic Genealogical Society	Boston, Mafs.
New Hampshire State Library	Concord, N. H.
New London Public Library	New London, Conn.
Newton Free Library	Newton, Mafs.
New York Historical Society	New York, N. Y.
Peabody Inftitute of the City of Baltimore	Baltimore, Md.
Pilgrim Society	Plymouth, Mafs.
Portfmouth Atheneum	Portfmouth, N. H.
Providence Public Library	Providence, R. I.
Public Library of Cincinnati	Cincinnati, Ohio.
Public Library of the City of Boston	Boston, Mafs.
Public Library of Cleveland	Cleveland, Ohio.
Public Library of Toronto	Toronto, Canada.

Public Library of Victoria	Melbourne, Vic.
Quincy Historical Society	Quincy, Mafs.
Redwood Library	Newport, R. I.
San Francisco Free Public Library	San Francisco, Cal.
Somerville Public Library	Somerville, Mafs.
Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg	Hamburg, Germany.
State Historical Society of Wisconsin	Madison, Wis.
State Library of Massachusetts	Boston, Mafs.
State Library of New York	Albany, N. Y.
State Library of Rhode Island	Providence, R. I.
Stockbridge Library Association	Stockbridge, Mafs.
Eben Dale Sutton Reference Library	Peabody, Mafs.
Taunton Public Library	Taunton, Mafs.
University of Chicago	Chicago, Ill.
Vassar College Library	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Warren Public Library	Warren, Mafs.
Williams College Library	Williamstown, Mafs.
Woburn Public Library	Woburn, Mafs.
Yale College Library	New Haven, Conn.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

NEW ENGLAND'S PROSPECT.

A true, lively and experimental description of that part of *America*, commonly called New England: discovering the State of that Country, both as it stands to our new-come *English* Planters; and to the old Native Inhabitants. By WILLIAM WOOD. London, 1634. Preface by Charles Deane, LL.D. pp. 131. Boston, 1865.

THE HUTCHINSON PAPERS.

A Collection of Original Papers relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay. Reprinted from the edition of 1769. Edited by William H. Whitmore, A.M., and William S. Appleton, A.M. 2 vols. Vol. I. pp. 324. Vol. II. pp. 354. Albany, 1865.

JOHN DUNTON'S LETTERS FROM NEW ENGLAND.

Letters written from New England A.D. 1686. By John Dunton, in which are described his voyages by Sea, his travels on land, and the characters of his friends and acquaintances. Now first published from the Original Manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Edited by William H. Whitmore, A.M. pp. 340. Boston, 1867.

THE ANDROS TRACTS.

Being a Collection of Pamphlets and Official Papers issued during the period between the overthrow of the Andros Government and the establishment of the second Charter of Massachusetts. Reprinted from the original editions and manuscripts. With a Memoir of Sir Edmund Andros, by the editor, William H. Whitmore, A.M. 3 vols. Vol. I. pp. 215; 1868. Vol. II. pp. 346; 1869. Vol. III. pp. 257; 1874. Boston.

SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER AND AMERICAN COLONIZATION.

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